

Avitus

The Fall of Man

DE SPIRITALIS HISTORIAE GESTIS LIBRI I-III

EDITED BY DANIEL J. NODES



TORONTO MEDIEVAL LATIN TEXTS

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PREFACE

The Toronto Medieval Latin Texts series is published for the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. The series is intended primarily to provide editions suitable for university courses and curricula, at a price within the range of most students' resources. Many Medieval Latin texts are available only in expensive scholarly editions equipped with full textual apparatus but with little or no annotation for the student; even more are out of print, available only in libraries; many interesting texts still remain unedited.

Editions in this series are usually based on one manuscript only, with a minimum of textual apparatus; emendations are normally made only where the text fails to make sense, not in order to restore the author's original version. Editors are required to select their manuscript with great care, choosing one that reflects a textual tradition as little removed from the original as possible, or one that is important for some other reason (such as a local variant of a text, or a widely influential version). Manuscript orthography and syntax are carefully preserved.

The Editorial Board is not merely supervisory: it is responsible for reviewing all proposals, for examining all specimens of editors' work, and for the final reading of all editions submitted for publication; it decides on all matters of editorial policy.

As General Editor, I would like to thank the Centre for Medieval Studies and its Directors, past and present, for their continuing support and encouragement at all stages in the development of the series.

A.G.R.

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D.J.N.

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INTRODUCTION

The Poet

Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus was born of a Roman senatorial family, probably in Vienne in Gaul in the middle of the fifth century. His father, Isychius, son of the emperor Avitus (445–6), was bishop of Vienne, to which office Avitus succeeded on his father's death in 490. During his episcopacy, Avitus was a leader in the church of Burgundy and was influential in the civil government. He strongly supported ties between his see and Rome and defended the primacy of the latter. Present opinion holds that he died in 518. In the century after his death many writers, including Gregory of Tours, Fortunatus, and Isidore of Seville, praised Avitus' eloquence, learning, orthodoxy, and piety.

His Writings

In addition to the five-book poem on the Creation, there are extant some eighty letters to various heads of church and state, three complete sermons and fragments of approximately thirty others, and a poem in praise of chastity. *De spiritalis historiae gestis*, however, is his most well-known work. It has been revered for its success at clothing Christian doctrine in a classical form of Latin. Avitus became known as the Christian Virgil and is considered by one historian to be 'le plus distingué de tous les poètes chrétiens du VI^e au VIII^e siècle.'¹ Manuscripts of the poem spread rapidly throughout western Europe, attesting to its popularity. Interest in it seems to have declined in the early Renaissance, for no trace has been found in any collection of incunabula. It was first printed in 1507, at which time it started again to receive considerable attention, for it was printed frequently thereafter.

Avitus wrote more poetry than is extant. In the preface

1 F. Guizot, *Histoire de la civilisation en France*, 6th ed. (Paris 1857) II, 64

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to his biblical epic, addressed to his brother Apollinaris, bishop of Valence, Avitus tells of his efforts at gathering into one very large volume a 'multitude of epigrams' on various subjects, and of the failure of those efforts due to the scattering of his works in the siege of Vienne in A.D. 500. Since there is little to go on beyond this reference, there has been little speculation as to subjects of his other poetry.

The Theme and Style of Avitus' Epic

The preface to the epic, which tells of the earlier loss of much of Avitus' poetry, also humbly emphasizes the unfinished state of what the bishop is about to publish. He protests that the release of his five books of poetry is the result of his brother's strong request: 'Hi ergo quia iubes, etsi obscuri sunt opere meo, tuo saltem nomine inlustrabuntur.'

Much of Avitus' humility is to be attributed to the conventions of late Latin literary prefaces,² since the work, probably the most dignified and certainly the most dramatic of all the Christian-classical poems of its kind, demonstrates strength and unity of purpose throughout. Even in its most distant allusions and departures into typological trains of thought, the poet shows control in relating his many episodes to the major theme of sin and salvation.

Watson Kirkconnell, who has edited an anthology of literary works on the Creation myth, in which segments of Avitus' epic are included, has seen cause to agree with Avitus' self-criticism, but only in regard to the continuity of the epic's five books.

Analysis of the poem confirms its author's verdict all too well; for while it shows a poetic unity of intention, its integration is far from perfect. The single title for the whole

2 Several commonplaces are to be found in Avitus' prologue. The requested nature of the writing, the minimization of the writer's own importance (*tuo nomini inlustrabuntur*, ll. 21-2), and promises of placing content before form appear frequently in ancient and medieval literature. See T. Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces* (Stockholm 1964) pp. 113-68.

work, *Poematum de Mosaicae Historiae Gestis Libri V* is only vaguely descriptive, and there is no clear pattern in the sub-titles of its five books, viz.:

Book I. The Beginning of the World.

Book II. Original Sin.

Book III. The Judgement of God.

Book IV. The Deluge.

Book V. The Crossing of the Red Sea.

The opening lines of Book I and the closing lines of Book V, however, make it clear that Avitus, like Milton, has in mind the one great theme of human depravity and ultimate redemption.³

Although the titles of the books do suggest random arrangement, Avitus' choice of subject matter within the five books demonstrates a clear unity of purpose. When the poem's scriptural elements are not integrated literally, they are integrated typologically, and there is clearly more important evidence to show that the five books constitute a solid, single work than 'the opening lines of Book I and the closing lines of Book V.'

The narrative line of the first three books is relatively smooth. In fact, the divisions between the books seem little more than areas for brief pauses between a continuous account of the Creation, the first sin, and the resultant judgement of God. This is not to say that the poem simply follows the scriptural account, for there are some elaborate descriptions and some didactic passages which treat other biblical events. All of the former, however, are legitimate examples of poetic amplification, and all the didactic digressions are closely tied thematically to a specific part of the Creation, Fall, and Judgement story. For example, Avitus includes a long account of the parable of Lazarus and the rich man in Book III to emphasize Adam's need of reconciliation by relating a similar incident from the New Testament. All this is done to encourage the reader to recognize his own opportunity for reconciliation in this life.

3 W. Kirkconnell, *The Celestial Cycle* (Toronto 1952) p. 501

4 Introduction

The titles of Books IV and V – *De diluvio mundi*, *De transitu maris rubri* – imply that Avitus jumps in his narrative from the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden to the story of Noe and then to the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt. This is not the case, however, for at thematically appropriate moments in the work the poet also employs such episodes as the story of Cain and Abel (Genesis 4), the destruction of Sodom and Gomorra (Genesis 18 and 19), the magic arts of the Pharaoh's magicians (Exodus 7 and 8), the tower of Babel (Genesis 11), and the giants who lived on earth (Genesis 6). Therefore many of the more dramatic episodes found in the first two books of the Bible are included in Avitus' poem regardless of the titles of the five books.

The style of *De spiritalis historiae gestis* is strongly Virgilian, and while it lacks the precision of the *Aeneid*, it is remarkably correct for its time. The influence of Virgil is felt not only in the general epic dignity of the poem, but in more specific elements reminiscent of the *Aeneid* such as the extended simile and the formal style of discourse and description. J.M. Evans compares Avitus' description of the wedding of Adam and Eve with that of Dido and Aeneas:

Taliter aeterno conjungens foedere vota,
Festivum dicebat hymen, castoque pudori
Concinit angelicum juncto modulamine carmen.
Pro thalamo paradus erat, mundusque dabatur
In dotem, et laetis gaudebant sidera flammis. [I. 188–92]

Here Avitus might have had in mind the 'marriage' of Dido and Aeneas, in which Nature provided all the usual concomitants of a Roman wedding:

prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno
dant signum: fulsere ignes et conscius aether
conubiis, summoque ulularunt vertice Nymphae.
ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
causa fuit. [*Aeneid* IV. 166–70]

Juno gives way to Hymen, the nymphs to the angels, and the lightning to the twinkling of the stars....⁴

4 J.M. Evans, *Paradise Lost and the Genesis Tradition* (Oxford 1968) 133–4

There are also some phrases borrowed directly, as is the famous 'O terque quaterque beati' of *Aeneid* I.94 in V.547 of *De gestis*.

Printed Editions of the Poem

After its first printing in Bologna in 1507, *De spiritalis historiae gestis* appeared in the following editions: Paris, 1508; Cologne, 1509; Paris, 1510; Lyons, 1536; Paris, 1545; Basel, 1564; Paris, 1575, 1589; Leipzig, 1602; Paris, 1611, 1643, 1644, 1654; Lyons, 1677; Venice, 1774.

There are also three modern editions of Avitus' writings, all from the nineteenth century. The text in the *Patrologia Latina* (vol. 59), a reprint of the edition of Galland (Venice 1774), itself a reprint of Sirmond's Paris edition of 1643, is based on a faulty manuscript of the second class. Unfortunately, this line is representative of all other editions of the poem down to the last century. Peiper's edition (MGH, 1883) is regarded as the standard. The most important contribution of Chevalier's edition (1890) with regard to the poetry is an improvement in Peiper's punctuation; otherwise it differs little from the MGH edition. None of these editions is annotated for the student. Additionally, A. Schippers has published an edition of Book I only (Amsterdam 1945), which contains a commentary and translation in Dutch.

The Possible Influence of the Poem on Two Major English Works on the Fall, *Genesis B* and *Paradise Lost*

Avitus' epic spread rapidly throughout western Europe and occupied a place in many monastic libraries both in England and on the continent. That it became a standard school text in the Middle Ages further attests to its popularity.⁵ It seems

5 See G. Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter: Entstehung und Wandlungen des Lektürekansons bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Munich 1970) p. 61. The MS used as the base text for this edition was one such school text. See below, p. 11.

therefore possible that the poem was accessible to the Saxon Genesis poet who was, in effect, the author of the Old English *Genesis B*. Opinions have varied nevertheless on the question of Avitus' influence on him, for in the last hundred years the suggestion of a relationship has been intimated, asserted, rejected, and then remade. While it need not be argued that the *Genesis B* poet relied on Avitus for his artistic insight into the nature of the human condition, it does indeed seem that he knew the poem and used some of its dramatic qualities, namely those which were suitable to his own purposes.

Near the end of the last century, Eduard Sievers, in his essay on the *Heliand* and *Genesis B*, noted that certain passages of *Genesis B* resembled parts of Avitus.⁶ Sievers refers, for example, to similarities in both poems' Satans – in their expression of outrage at relinquishing the heavenly seat to man and in their plans for revenge. Earlier, in revolt against God, each Satan declared he would build a throne superior to God's:

... 'diuinum consequar,' inquit,
 'nomen et aeternam ponam super aethera sedem
 excelso similis summis nec uiribus inpar.' (II.42–4)

... Ic maeg mid handum swa fela
 wundra gewyrcean. Ic haebbe geweald micel
 to gyrwanne godlecran stol,
 hearran on heofne. (Genesis B 279–82)

The detail of building a loftier throne seems ultimately to come from Isaiah 14:12–13 and has a parallel in the apocryphal *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, but the Saxon poet would have had a close and popular source for the detail in Avitus, one which attributes the desire to build the highest throne specifically to Satan. Sievers, however, also points out that where there is a striking similarity, there is a significant difference nearby. The identity of the tempter, for example,

6 E. Sievers, *Der Heliand und die angelsächsische Genesis* (Halle 1875) p. 20

differs in each poem, for while the biblical commentators and Avitus unanimously present the serpent in the garden as Satan himself, *Genesis B* presents the serpent as a retainer of Satan, which is probably a reflection of the Saxon poet's familiarity with Germanic warrior culture. Yet, while Sievers and other early critics do not make a categorical denial of Avitus' influence, they rightly remind us that *Genesis B* is an original poem in its own right. We can therefore sense Avitus' influence and still respect the *Genesis B* poet's originality.

In a more recent study of the possible sources of *Genesis B*, Evans suggests that the Saxon poet had adapted particularly distinctive features of many earlier treatments to his own purposes and interspersed more specifically Germanic features where appropriate.⁷ Applying this view specifically to Avitus, Evans allows for the Saxon poet's culture and freedom as a poet, and although his article adds no new correspondences between Avitus and *Genesis B*, it most successfully accounts for the nature and extent of the many already noted by Sievers.

Regarding Avitus' influence on *Paradise Lost*, it has been the corresponding dramatic treatments of Satan that have elicited the most attention from those with any knowledge of *De gestis*. In both poems, Satan is a proud, rebellious and eloquent figure who, as in *Genesis B*, bursts forth in speeches of outrage at man's succession to heaven and of preparation for revenge. Both Satans are also particularly eloquent in Eve's presence (with Avitus' Satan speaking a purely Virgilian line at one instant) and in their speeches of triumph after the fall. For one with knowledge of *Paradise Lost*, reading Avitus will surely provide a reacquaintance with the imposing figure of Satan so powerfully drawn by Milton. Yet even this similarity, though striking, implies that there are simply two characters that have common vices.

The best evidence of Milton's debt to Avitus lies not in

7 J.M. Evans, 'Genesis B and Its Background,' *Review of English Studies* new ser. 14 (1963) 1–16, 113–23

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that general correspondence but in more specific correspondences in phraseology throughout the poem. Avitus may be responsible for much of Milton's Latinity in the sense that he had already embodied the Genesis story in Virgilian Latin, and if Milton knew the poem he may have borrowed many a turn of phrase. Kirkconnell has pointed out three striking verbal parallels:

- (1) "All is not lost ; the unconquerable will,
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield:"
(*Paradise Lost*, I, 106–108).

Cf. with Avitus (again Satan speaking):
Non tamen in totum periit; pars magna retentat
Vim propriam summaque cluit vitute nocendi.
(II, 95–96).

- (2) "And heav'nly Quires the Hymenaeon sung ..."
(*P.L.*, IV, 711).

Cf. with Avitus, I, 189–190:
Festivum dicebat hymen castoque pudori
Concinit angelicum iuncto modulamine carmen.

- (3) "Greedily she ingorged without restraint,
And knew not eating Death ..."
(*P.L.*, IX, 791–792).

Cf. with Avitus, II, 231–232:
Adnuit insidiis pomumque vorata momordit.
Dulce subit virus, capitur mors horrida pastu.⁸

Long before Kirkconnell's anthology, S.B. Wister had discovered a great number of parallels between *De gestis* and *Paradise Lost*. Wister is particularly strong when he points out similarities in the two works which do not have a common scriptural model. Referring to Avitus he writes, for example, 'Man's prerogative of walking erect is made a point of by both Milton and his precursor, his gift of reason, and his power to read the signs of the weather and changes

of the season, none of which are specified in Genesis,'⁹ and compares the following:

Postquam nascentem solers prudentia sensum
 Imbuit, et puro rationis lumine fulsit,
 Surgit, et erectis firmat vestigia plantis.
 Tum varias mundi species, coelique figuras
 Mirantem ... (I.128–32)

By quick instinctive motion up I sprung,
 As thitherward endeavouring, and upright
 Stood on my feet; about me round I saw ...
 Creatures that lived, and moved, and walked, or flew.
 (P.L. VIII.259–64)

Wister's most important contribution, however, is his demonstration of correspondences between Avitus' and Milton's accounts of the Flood and the Crossing of the Red Sea. It is noteworthy that both poets chose to deal with these subjects which are not literally part of the story of the fall of the first man and woman. Even though Milton incorporates the accounts into Adam's vision after the fall, he is including material not essential to the story. One wonders if, rather than the general tradition of biblical commentary, a specific theological or literary work caused Milton to make the inclusion. Perhaps it was Avitus' epic, for the verbal parallels between this work and Milton's are striking in these episodes. A typical example is the episode of the dove that was sent forth from the ark, handled by the two poets thus:

Illa memor jussi rapido petit arva volatu
 Paciferaeque videns ramum viridantis olivae
 Decerpit mitique refert ad condita rostro.
 (IV.580–82)

A dove sent forth once and again to spy
 Green tree or ground whereon his foot may light;
 The second time returning, in his bill
 An olive leaf he brings, pacific sign.
 (P.L. XI.857–60)

9 S.B. Wister, 'A Precursor of Milton,' *Atlantic Monthly* 65 (1890) 43

It almost seems as if Milton had anglicized Avitus' own words.

As with *Genesis B*, some individual parallels may be coincidental, but the combination of them all makes for a strong likelihood that Avitus was a prime source for the later work. Also, many of the correspondences between *Genesis B* and *Paradise Lost* may be due to their common descent from *De gestis*, for it is not known whether Milton knew *Genesis B* first hand.

As the numerous editions of Avitus' epic published before Milton's birth testify, *De gestis* was accessible to Milton, and it was even used for Latin instruction in grammar schools of the time. Perhaps Milton was exposed to the poem early in his life and perhaps it made a lasting impression on him. Of course, we may never know conclusively to what extent the *Genesis B* poet and Milton knew Avitus. It is, at least, certain that Avitus' epic played a major part in shaping the literary *Genesis* tradition.

The Manuscript

The base text of this edition, Laon, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 273 (hereafter designated as *L*), dates from the ninth century and contains one of the earliest extant texts of *De gestis*. It belongs to the first family of manuscripts in the tradition, those which are nearest the time and place of the original composition.¹⁰ With regard to Avitus, the manuscripts of this first family are distinguished from each other more by the works joined to *De gestis* in the same volume than by differences in textual quality within the epic. *L* belongs to a group which contains other verse treatments of the biblical story by Proba, Cyprian of Gaul, Hilary of Arles, and Dracontius, and some scriptural commentary in prose. This collection, which contains unsurpassed material for Christian education combined with excellent models of the classical Latin literary style, made the ideal class book for the medieval school. *L* is especially attractive in this

10 See Peiper's ed., MGH, AA 6.2, p. LII

regard, since there is more certainty about its use in the Middle Ages than about any other manuscript of the poem. It is a *liber manualis*, a teacher's text which belonged to the cathedral school of Laon and bears the inscription of two masters, Bernard (847–903) and Adelelm (ca. 865–930), and 'takes us into the heart of the cathedral school.'¹¹

Another member of the first family, the sole survivor of a group of codices which joined Avitus with Arator, Prosper, and Juvenius, is the ninth-century manuscript Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. Q 86 (referred to as *D* in the apparatus). Although less suitable than *L* for use as the base text because it does not present the verses of Book I in proper order, *D* presents the soundest text with which to emend individual deficiencies in *L*.

This edition presents, wherever possible, *L*'s text of the poem. Emendation has been made only where the scribal version fails to give sense or clearly violates syntax or meter. Emendations are signalled in the textual notes; words within pointed brackets <...> are not in *L* but have been supplied from *D*. Scribal orthography has for the most part been preserved, including such variations as *e* for *ae* or *ae* for *e*, *t* for *c* or *d* for *t* (e.g. *solatium/solacium*, *adque/atque*), single consonants for double (e.g. *lasata/lassata*), inorganic *h* and omitted *h*, and confusion of unstressed vowels, especially *i* and *e* (e.g. *iudix/iudex*) except where there is a risk of confusion of two real inflections (e.g. *agit/aget*). All scribal abbreviation has been expanded silently. Paragraphing, punctuation, and capitalization are modern.

11 J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon* (Munich 1978) p. 36. Indications are that this codex was prepared for topical instruction on individual books of the Old Testament. Avitus' Book V is placed among other works treating Exodus, and Books I–IV with those treating Genesis. The codex also contains Wicbod's *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, which is a manual designed specifically for teaching. 'In this one codex, the masters of Laon possessed a handy and far ranging repertoire of comments on the first eight books of the Old Testament' (*ibid.* p. 38). For a discussion of MS. Leiden, Voss. Lat. Q 86 as a school text see Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter* pp. 33, 35.

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in this volume:

CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
Goelzer	H. Goelzer, <i>Le Latin de Saint Avit</i> (Paris 1909)
MGH, AA	Monumenta Germaniae historica, Auctores antiquissimi
PL	Patrologia Latina
Souter	A. Souter, <i>Glossary of Later Latin</i> (London 1949)
TLL	<i>Thesaurus linguae Latinae</i>

IN DEI NOMINE INCIPIT PROLOGUS

6**rb** Domino sancto in Christo piissimo ac beatissimo Appolinari
 episcopo, Alchimus Egditius Auitus frater. Nuper quidem
 paucis omiliarum mearum in unum corpus redactis, hortatu
 amicorum discrimen edicionis intraui, sed adhuc te maiora
 5 suadente, in quoturnum petulantioris audaciae durata
 fronte procedo. Iniungis namque ut si quit a me de
 quibuscumque causis metri lege conscriptum est, sub
 professione opusculi uestro nomini dedicetur. Recolo
 equidem nonnulla me uersu dixisse adeo ut, si ordinarentur,
 10 non minimo uolumine stringi potuerit epigrammatum multitudo,
 quod dum facere seruato causarum uel temporum ordine
 meditarer, omnia pene in illa notissimae perturbationis
 necessitate dispersa sunt. Quae quoniam singillatim aut
 requiri difficile aut inueniri impossibile foret, abieci
 15 ea de animo meo, quorum mihi uel ordinatio saluorum (ne
 dicam dispersorum reparatio) dura uideretur. Aliquos sane
 libellos apud quendam familiarem meum postea repperi, qui
 licet nominibus propriis titulisque respondeant, et alias
 tamen causas inuenta materiae opportunitate perstringunt.

1–21 Having lost a large but unorganized set of epigrams, Auitus
 found some notebooks or tablets (*libelli*) and has dedicated these
 to Apollinaris.

1–2 *Appolinari episcopo*: Auitus' brother, bishop of Valence, on the
 Rhone; *Appolinari* = *Apollinari*

5 *quoturnum* = *cothurnum*, here in the sense of 'high style'; he
 refers to the poetic genre.

7–8 *sub professione opusculi*: 'in the work's statement of intent'

11 *seruato ... ordine*: 'either according to the subject matter or
 chronologically'

12 *notissimae perturbationis*: the siege of Vienne, A.D. 500; cf.
 Gregory of Tours, *History* II, 33

17–19 *qui licet ... perstringunt*: 'and these, although their content
 corresponds to their respective titles, nonetheless touch on other
 subjects also, since new matter opportunely presented itself
 (*inuenta materiae opportunitate*)'

6va Hi ergo quia iubes, etsi / obscuri sunt opere meo, tuo
saltem nomine inlustrabuntur.

Quamquam quilibet acer ille doctusque sit, si
relegionis propositae stilum non minus fidei quam metri
lege seruauerit, uix aptus esse poemati quead, quippe cum
25 licentia mentiendi, quae pictoribus ac poetis aequae
conceditur, satis procul a causarum serietate pellenda sit.
In saeculare namque uersuum opere condendo, tanto quis
peritior appellatur, quanto elegantius – immo, ut uere dicamus,
ineptius – falsa texuerit. Taceo iam uerba illa uel nomina
30 quae nobis nec in alienis quidem operibus frequentare, ne
dicam in nostris conscribere licet, quae ad compendia
poetarum aliud ex alio significantia plurimum ualent.
Quocirca saecularium iudicio, qui aut inperitiae aut
ignauiae dabunt non uti nos licentia poetarum, plus arduum
35 quam fructuosum opus adgressi, diuinam longe discreuimus
ab humana existimatione censuram. Quoniam in asserendis
quibuscumque rebus, uel etiam prout subpetit explicandis,
si quacumque ex parte peccandum est, salubrius dicenti
clerico non impletur pompa quam regula, et tutius artis

22–46 Avitus acknowledges the impossibility of being obedient both to the rules of the faith and to the requirements of poetic composition.

22–6 *Quamquam ... pellenda sit*: 'Although someone may be quick-witted and learned, if he were to preserve the style of the religion that he professes with respect to the law of faith no less than that of versification, he would find it difficult to write poetry, particularly since poetic license (which is accorded to both poets and painters) must be thrust aside from serious matters (*causarum serietas*).'

29 *Taceo*: 'I say nothing of ...' with accusative

30–32 *quae ... ualent*: 'those words which it is not right for us to encounter frequently in the works of others, let alone to write in our own works, words which are of great value for the abbreviated style (*compendia*) of poets, signifying one thing from another [i.e. tropologically]'

34 *dabunt*: 'ascribe' with accusative and infinitive construction

36–40 *Quoniam ... claudicatur*: 'Since in declaring any matters, or even as there is occasion to explain certain points, if an error has to be made in some part, it is better for the cleric-composer to neglect

- 40 pede quam ueritatis uestigio claudicatur. Non enim
 excusat a perpetratione peccati libertas eloquii. Nam
 pro omni uerbo ocioso, quod locuti fuerint homines,
 rationem redhibere cogentur. Agnosci in prompto est illud
 periculosius laedere quod tractatum adque meditatum,
 45 anteposita uiuendi legibus loquendi lege, praesumitur.
 ORA PRO ME. EXPLICIT PROLOGUS AUITI. /

ostentation than his (religious) rule; it is safer to limp in the "foot of art" than in the "footstep of truth".'

- 40–41 *Non enim ... eloquii*: 'for the freedom of eloquence is not an excuse for the commission of sin'

- 42–3 *pro omni ... rationem redhibere*: Mt. 12:36

- 45 *anteposita ... lege*: note how the position of words corresponds with the sense

- 46 *Ora pro me*: a common scribal addition

⟨LIBER I DE INITIO MUNDI⟩

- 6vb Quidquid agit uarios humana in gente labores,
unde breuem carpunt mortalia tempora uitam,
uel quod polluti uitiantur origine mores,
quos aliena premunt priscorum facta parentum
5 (addatur quamquam nostra de parte reatus),
quod tamen amisso dudum peccatur honore
adscribam tibi, prime pater, qui semine mortis
tollis succiduae uitalia germina proli.
Et licet hoc totum Christus persoluerit in se,
10 contraxit quantum percussa in stirpe propago,
attamen auctoris uitio, qui debita leti
instituit morbosque suis ac funera misit,
uiuuit peccati moribunda in carne cicatrix.
Iam Pater Omnipotens librantis pondere uerbi
15 undique collectis discreuerat arida lymfis,
litoribus pontum constringens flumina ripis.
Iam proprias pulchro monstrabat lumine formas
obscuris cedente die, uarioque colore
plurima distinctum pingebat gracia mundum.
20 Temporibus sortita uices tum lumina caelo
fulsere alterno solis luneque meatu.
Quin et sidereus nocturno in tempore candor

- 1 *Quidquid*: subject of *agit*, part of a series of clauses (*unde* line 2, *quod* line 6) which are objects of *adscribam*, line 7
4 *aliena*: 'insane' (Souter), also with the sense of 'unnatural'
premunt: 'burden, degrade'
7 *adscribam tibi*: Avitus begins his poem with a doctrinal pronouncement on the universal effects of original sin. The statement is important in the poem's theme of sin and salvation and shows a fundamental opposition to the Pelagian tenet that Adam by sinning injured himself alone and not the whole human race.
prime pater: Adam
8 *tollis ... proli*: '... take away the seed of life from the frail human race'; *succiduae proli* is dative of (dis)advantage
20 *uices*: accusative plural object of *sortita*
21 *fulsere* = *fulserunt*; cf. I.26 and 33

- temperat horrentes astrorum luce tenebras.
 Actutum suaui producens omnia fetu
 25 pulchra repentino uestita est gramine tellus.
 Accepere genus sine germine iussa creari,
 et semen uoluisse fuit. Sic ubere uerbi
 frondiscunt silue. Teneris radicibus arbor
 durauit uastos paruo sub tempore ramos.
 30 Protenus in tetras animalia multa figuras
 surgunt, et uacuum discurrunt bruta per orbem.
 Elatae in altum uolucres motuque citato
 pendentes secuere uias, et in aere sudo /
 7ra praepitibus librant membrorum pondera pinnis.
 35 Post etiam clausi uasto sub gurgite pisces
 respirant lymfis flatusque sub aequore ducunt.
 Quaeque negant nobis, illis dant umida uitam.
 Nec minus in pelago uiuescunt grandia cete,
 accipiuntque cauis habitacula digna latebris.
 40 Et quae monstra solet rarus nunc prodere pontus,
 aptat ad informes condens sollertia formas.
 Quodque hominum falso credit mens nescia fedum,
 per propriam speciem natura iudice pulchrum est.
 Ergo ubi completis fulserunt omnia rebus
 45 ornatuque suo perfectus constetit orbis,
 tum Pater Omnipotens aeterno lumine laetum
 contulit ad terras sublimi ex aethere uultum,
 inlustrans quodcumque uidet. Placet ipsa tuenti
 Artifici factura suo, laudatque Creator
 50 dispositum pulchro quem condidit ordine mundum.
 Tum demum tali Sapientia uoce loquuta est:
 'En praeclara nitet mundano machina cultu.

- 26 *iussa creari*: the subject, 'things commanded to be made'
 27 *et semen uoluisse fuit*: this line emphasizes God's act of creation
 by will. Contrast this with the visceral account of God's creation
 of Adam, I.73ff.
 37 *Quaeque*: accusative plural of relative pronoun with enclitic *que*
umida: subject of both *negant* and *dant*
 38 *cete*: nominative plural neuter
 49 *suo*: reflexive agreeing with *artifici* and referring to *factura*

Et tamen impletum perfectis omnibus orbem
quid iuuat ulterius nullo cultore teneri?

55 Sed ne longa nouam contristent ocia terram,
nunc homo formetur, summi quem tangat imago
numinis; et nostram celso donatus honore
induat interius formonsa in mente figuram.

Hunc libet erectum uultu praeponere pronis,
60 qui regat aeterno subiectum foedere mundum,
bruta domet, legem cunctis ac nomina ponat,
astra notet, caelique uias et sidera norit,
discat et inspectis discernere tempora signis.

Subiciat pelagus saeuum, ingenioque tenaci
65 possideat quaecumque uidet. Cui bestia frendens
seruiat, et posito discant mansueta furore /
7rb imperium iumenta pati, iussique ligari
festinent trepidi consueta in uincla iuueni.

Quoque magis natura hominis sublimior extet,
70 accipiat rectos in caelum tollere uultus:
Factorem quaerat proprium, cui mente fideli
inpendat famulam longeuo in tempore uitam.'

Haec ait, et fragilem dignatus tangere terram,
temperat umentem consperso in puluere limum,
75 orditurque nouum diuis Sapientia corpus.
Non aliter quam nunc opifex cui artis in usu est
flectere laxatas per cuncta sequacia ceras
et uultus implere manu seu corpora gypso

54 *nullo cultore*: note verbal contrast with the original state of the world (*mundano cultu* l. 52)

59 *erectum uultu*: adjective with ablative of specification modifying *hunc*

60–63 *qui regat, domet* etc.: relative purpose clauses, 'to rule ... to tame'

62 *caelique uias* ...: cf. Virgil *Geor.* 2.477

69–70 *Quoque magis ... tollere uultus*: cf. Ovid *Met.* l. 79

75 *diuis* = *dines*; cf. II.177

76 *cui ... est*: 'in the practice of whose art it is (to mold),' dative of possession; *cui* is not elided here

77 *flectere ... ceras*: 'to mold supple wax into all malleable shapes'

- fingere uel segni speciem componere massae.
 80 Sic Pater Omnipotens uicturum protenus aruum
 tractat, et in lento meditatur uiscera caeno.
 Hic arcem capitis sublimi in uertice signat,
 septiforem uultum rationis sensibus aptans,
 olfactu, auditu, uisu, gustuque potentem.
 85 Tactus erit solus toto qui corpore iudix
 sentiat et proprium spargat per membra uigorem.
 Flexilis artatur recauo sic lingua palato,
 praessus ut in cameram pulsantis uerbere plectri
 percusso resonet modolatus in aere sermo.
 90 Exin succiduum porrecto in corpore pectus
 spargit ramosas post brachia fortia palmas.
 Succedit stomacho medius qui tegmine molli
 inter utrumque latus foueat uitalia uenter.
 Diuiduam partem femor excipit, aptius ut se
 95 alternum moueat duplicato poplite gressus.
 Ad, parte ex alia, fingit quam Conditor unus,
 occipiti submissa suo discendere ceruix
 incipit et uastos conpagibus addere neruos.
 Spina rigens crebris inter commercia nodis /
 7va diffundit duplicem costarum ex ordine cratem.
 Pars interna nouos uite formatur ad usus,
 naturale parant tegmen uitalia cordi,
 massaque congestis pendens absconditur extis.
 Additur et tenui pascendus ab aere pulmo,
 105 qui concepta trahens lenti spiramina flatus
 accipiat, reddens reddat quas sumpserit auras,

- 79 *segni... massae*: 'to construct a form out of viscous clay'; *massae*
 = *ex massa* (dative influenced by *componere*), cf. Goelzer p. 73
 80 *uicturum*: future active participle from *uiuo*
 83 *septiforem*: ears, eyes, nostrils, mouth
 85 *iudix* = *iudex*; here, 'as a judge' in apposition to *tactus*
 95 *alternum*: adverb (Goelzer, 459)
 96 *Ad* = *at*; cf. I.277, III.66, III.138
 99 *inter commercia*: 'at the junctures' (*TLL* s.v. *commercium* II, 3)
 103 *massaque*: in reference to *cordi* 'the heart' (as hidden, suspended
 among crowded organs)

inque uicem crebro pellatur anhelitus haustu.
 Dextra tenet iecoris uigitandum sanguine fontem,
 quo clausum uenae spargant per uiscera flumen.

- 110 Lienis laeuam sortitur regula partem,
 qua crines perhibent unguisque recrescere sectos;
 quae uiuunt sensuque carent in corporis usu
 nec abscisa dolent, hic nunc augmenta resumunt.

- Postquam perfecte iacuit nouitatis imago
 115 formatumque lutum speciem peruenit in omnem,
 uertitur in carnem limus durataque molles
 uisceribus mediis traxerunt ossa medullas.

- Inseritur uenis sanguis, uiuoque colore
 inficit ora rubor; toto tum corpore pallor
 120 pellitur, et niueos depingit purpura uultus.
 Inde ubi perfectis consuescit uiuere membris
 totus homo et fumant calefacta ut uiscera, solam
 expectant animam, puro quam fonte creator
 promat et erectos recturam mittat in artus;
 125 lenem perpetuo flatum profundit ab ore
 inspiratque homini quem protenus ille receptum
 attrahit et crebri discit spiraminis auras.

- Postquam nascentem sollers prudentia sensum
 inuit et puro rationis lumine fulsit,
 130 surgit et erectis firmat uestigia plantis.
 Tum uarias mundi species caelumque refulgens
 mirantem tali compellat uoce Creator: /

- 7vb 'Haec que mundanis cernis pulcherrima rebus

110–13 *Lienis ... resumunt*: this bit of medical lore seems to have been influenced by Aristotelian anatomy. See D. Kuijper, 'Lienis regula,' *Vigiliae Christianae* 9 (1955) 50–60.

110 *regula*: here 'anchoring rod,' a metaphor comparing the spleen as anchor for blood vessels with a metal rod which holds a statue to a wall. The phrase *lienis regula* appears in Claudianus Mamertus, *De anima* 3.11 (ed. A. Engelbrecht, CSEL 11, p. 174).

111 *perhibent*: subject unexpressed, 'they assert,' 'it is said'; cf. I.212

130 *plantis*: the soles of the feet

131 *uarias ... refulgens*: objects of *mirantem*, 'the one marvelling at ...'

133–4 *Haec ... orbem*: object clause, 'these most beautiful additions to

incrementa nouis ornatum tensa per orbem,
 135 solus habe totisque prior dominare fruendo.
 Tu mihi, cuncta tibi famulentur; maximus ordo est
 te parere pio qui subdidit omnia Patri.
 Non species ullae nec numina uana colantur,
 non si quit caelo sublime nouumque coruscat,
 140 non quae uel terris uiuunt formata uel undis,
 nec quod forte praemens prohibet natura uideri:
 usibus ista tuis non cultibus esse memento;
 praecellens factis Factorem pronus adora.'

Interea sextus noctis primordia uesper
 145 rettulit, alterno depellens tempore lucem,
 dumque petunt dulcem spirantia cuncta quietem,
 soluitur et somno laxati corporis Adam.
 Cui Pater Omnipotens praessum per corda soporem
 iecit et inmenso tardauit pondere sensus,
 150 uis ut nulla queat sopitam soluere mentem:
 non si forte fragor securas uerberet aures,
 nec si commoto caelum tunc intonet axae,
 sed nec praessa manu rupissent membra quietem.
 Tum uero cunctis costarum ex ossibus unam
 155 subducit laeuo lateri carnemque reponit.
 Erigitur pulchro genialis forma decore,
 inque nouum subito procedit femina uultum,
 quam Deus aeterna coniungens lege marito
 coniugii fructu pensat dispendia membri.
 160 Istius indicium somni mors illa secuta est,
 sponte sua subiit sumpto quam corpore Christus.
 Qui cum passurus ligno sublimis in alto

the new earthly state which you see extended throughout the adorned world'

135 *prior*: as the first man

143 *praecellens*: with dative modifying subject of imperative

147 *laxati corporis*: genitive of quality with *somno*

148 *corda*: here in sense of 'feelings'

152 *axae* = *axe*; cf. I. 193 and *archae* I. 213

160 *mors illa*: explained in relative clause in subsequent line

- penderet nexus, culpas dum penderet orbis,
in latus extensi defixit missile lictor.
- 165 Protenus exiliens manauit uulnere lymfa, /
87a qua uiuum populis iam tum spondente lauacrum,
fluxit martyrium signans et sanguinis unda.
Inde quiescenti, gemina dum nocte iaceret,
de lateris membro surgens eclaesia nupsit.
- 170 Principio Rector, tanti sacrare figuram
disponens uincli, nectit conubia uerbo:
'Uiuite concordi studio mundumque replete,
crescat longaeuum felici semine germen;
non annis numerus uitae nec terminus esto.
- 175 Progeniem sine fine dedi, quam tempore toto
accipies, generi primus qui poneris auctor.
Pronepos eductos spargens per saecula nepotes
uiuentes numeret proauos, inque ora parentum
ducant annosos natorum pignora natos.
- 180 Tum lex coniugii toto uenerabilis aeuo
intemerata suo seruabitur ordine cunctis.
Femina persistat de uiscere sumpta uirili
coniugio seruare fidem, nec separet alter,
quod iungit sotiaturque Deus: cum patre relinquat

- 163 *pendēret ... pendēret*: the word play lends emphasis to the important theological concept of the crucifixion as atonement for man's sins.
- 164 *extensi*: scil. *Christi*
- 166 *qua ... spondente*: ablative absolute; literally 'with which (substance) already at that time promising a bath of life unto the people.' The construction replaces an unmetrical subordinate clause (*quae spondebat [sponpondit]*). See A. Schippers, ed., *De mundi initio* (Amsterdam 1945) p. 85.
- 168 *gemina ... nocte*: 'within that double night'
- 174-5 *non annis ... sine fine dedi*: cf. Virgil *Aen.* 1.278-9
- 178 *ora parentum*: Virgil *Aen.* 5.576, 6.308
- 179 *natorum pignora*: 'their children's children'
- 184 *patre*: all MSS but *L* read *patre* (as object of *cum*) which is metrically necessary, but *patrem* in *L* (as a direct object) is the reading of the Vulgate (Mt. 19:5, Mc. 10:7) and is as syntactically correct. Cf. Goelzer, 688.

- 185 et matrem iusto constrictus amore maritus.
 Ista parentales non rumpant uincula curae,
 uita sed amborum carnem teneatur ad unam.’
 Taliter aeterno coniungens foedere uota
 festiuum dicebat ymen, castoque pudori
 190 concinit angelicum iuncto modolamine carmen.
 Pro thalamo paradisos erat, mundusque dabatur
 in dotem, et laetis gaudebant sidera flammis.
 Est locus eo mundi seruatus in axae
 secretis, natura, tuis, ubi solis ab ortu
 195 uicinos nascens aurora repercutit Indos.
 Hic gens ardentem caeli subteriacet axem,
 quam candor feruens albenti ex aethere fuscatur.
 His semper lux pura uenit, caeloque propinquo /
 8rb natiuum seruant nigrantia corpora noctem.
 200 Adtamen in tetrissplendentia lumina membris
 captiuo fulgore micant, uisuique nitente
 certior adcrevit conlatis uultibus horror.
 Caesaries incompta riget quae crine supino
 stringitur, ut refugio careat frons nuda capillo.
 205 Sed magnum nostros quidquid perfertur ad usus,
 his totum natura dedit telluris opimae.
 Quicquid adoratum pulchrumque adlabitur, inde est.
 Concolor his ebeni piceo de fomite ramus
 surgit et hic, eboris munus quae porrigit orbi,
 210 informis pulchros deponit belua dentes.
 Ergo ubi transmissis mundi caput incipit Indis,
 quo perhibent terram confinia iungere caelo,

189 *ymen* = *hymen*, ‘nuptial, wedding’

189–90 *festiuum ... carmen*: ‘the Lord proclaimed a joyous wedding, and angelic song celebrated chaste modesty with joined melody’

201–2 *uisuique ... horror*: ‘and when they confer their gaze on someone a surer fear increases because of their shining aspect [in reference to eyes, *lumina*, in I.200]’

207 *adoratum*: here with the religious sense disregarded, ‘esteemed highly’

208 *fomite*: here ‘source (of life),’ i.e. the earth, which enkindles life. See Souter s.v. *fomes*; *TLL* IV, 1020, 79.

lucus inaccessa cunctis mortalibus archae
 permanet aeterno conclusus limite, postquam
 215 decidit expulsus primeui criminis auctor,
 atque reis digne felici ab sede reuulsis
 caelestis haec sancta capit nunc terra ministros.
 Non hic alterni succedit temporis umquam
 bruma, nec aestiui redeunt post frigora soles,
 220 sic celsus calidum cum reddit circulus annum,
 uel densente gelu canescunt arua pruinis.
 Hic uer adsidium caeli clementia seruat,
 turbidus auster abest, semperque sub aere sudo
 nubila diffugiunt iugi cessura sereno.
 225 Nec poscit natura loci, quos non habet, imbres,
 sed contenta suo dotantur germina rore.
 Perpetuo uiret omne solum, terraeque tepentis
 blanda nitet facies; stant semper collibus herbae
 arboribusque come, quae cum se flore frequenti
 230 diffundunt, celeri confortant germina suco.
 Nam quicquid nobis toto nunc nascitur anno, /
 8va menstrua maturo dant illic tempora fructu.
 Lilia perlucent nullo flaccientia sole,
 nec tactus uiolat uiolas, roseumque ruborem
 235 seruans perpetuo suffundit gratia uultu.
 Sic cum desit hiems nec torrida ferueat aestas,
 fructibus autumnus, uer floribus occupat annum.
 Hic, que donari mentitur fama Sabeis,
 cinnama nascuntur, uiuax que colligit alis,

213 *archae* = *arce*; see note to line 152 above217 *caelestis*: accusative plural218 *alterni temporis*: 'of a different season,' genitive of quality222 *Hic uer adsidium*: Virgil *Geor.* 2.149224 *cessura*: 'ready to yield,' future participle230 *celeri*: the swiftness is explained in the following lines234 *tactus*: scil. *solis*238 *Sabeis*: 'Arabians,' named after the town of Saba, famed for its spices239 *uiuax ... alis*: the phoenix; *alis* = *ales*

- 240 natali cum fine perit nidoque perusta
 succedens sibimet quaesita morte resurgit;
 nec contenta suo tantum semel ordine nasci,
 longa ueternosi renouatur corporis aetas,
 incensamque leuant exordia crebra senectam.
 245 Illic desudans flagrantia balsama ramus
 perpetuum pingui promit de stipite fluxum.
 Tum si forte leuis mouit spiramina uentus,
 flatibus exiguis lenique impulsus susurro
 diuis silua tremit foliis ac flore salubri,
 250 qui sparsus terris suaues dispensat odores.

Hic fons perspicuo resplendens gurgite surgit:
 talis in argento non fulgit gratia, tantam
 nec cristalla dabunt nitido de frigore lucem.
 Margine riparum uirides micuere lapilli
 255 et, quas miratur mundi iactantia gemmas,
 illic saxa iacent; uarios dant arua colores
 et naturali campos diademate pingunt.
 Eductum lenti fontis de uertice flumen
 quattuor in largos confestim scinditur amnes.
 260 Euphraten Tigrinque uocant, qui limite certo
 longa sagittiferis faciunt confinia Partis.
 Tertius inde Geon, Latio qui nomine Nilus
 dicitur, ignoto cunctis plus nobilis ortu.
 Cuius in Egyptum lenis perlabitur unda /
 8vb ditatura suam certo sup tempore terram.
 Nam quotiens tumido perrumpit flumine ripas

240 *natali ... fine*: oxymoron, 'birth-death'

240-41 *natali ... resurgit*: 'when, in an end which is like a birthday and consumed in its nest, it perishes, succeeding itself it rises again through the death which it had sought'

249 *diuis* = *diues*

252 *fulgit* = *fulget*

258-9 *fontis ... amnes*: on the stream of paradise as the source of four major rivers, cf. Gn. 2:10ff. Avitus, however, treats the rivers in reverse order from Genesis. *Trigrin* = *Tigrim*

261 *Partis*: the Parthians were renowned archers; cf. Virgil *Aen.* 12.857-8

265 *sup* = *sub*

- alueus et nigros campos perfundit harenis,
 ubertas taxatur aqua, caeloque uacante
 terrestrem pluuiam diffusus porrigit amnis.
 270 Tunc inclusa latet lato sub gurgite Menfis,
 et super absentes possessor nauigat agros.
 Terminus omnis abest; aequatur iudice fluctu
 annua suspendens contectus iurgia limis.
 Grammina nota uidet laetus subsidere pastor,
 275 inque locum pecorum uiridantis iugere campi
 succedunt nantes aliena per aequora pisces.
 Ad postquam largo fecundans germina potu
 lymfa maritauit sitientis uiscera terrae,
 regreditur Nilus sparsasque recolligit undas:
 280 fit fluuius pereunte lacu; tum redditur alueo
 pristina riparum conclusis fluctibus obix,
 donec diuiduum spargens per deuia finem
 gurgite septino patulum percurrat in aequor.
 Sed quur dicatur tantum mundana latere
 285 uertix, Nile, tuus? Nam qui nesciris ab ortu,
 non solus, sed quartus eris diffusus ab illo,
 dispicit excelso qui flumina cincta meatu

268 *taxatur*: 'is valued, is reckoned'

271 Cf. Virgil *Geor.* 4.289, Ovid *Met.* 1.295

273 *limis* = *limes*, nominative singular

275 *iugere*: 3rd declension, ablative singular; *iugerum*, 'an acre of land,' is normally 2nd declension and occasionally 3rd in plural

276 *aliena per aequora*: cf. Ovid *Met.* 1.299–304

277 *Ad* = *at*

279 *sparsasque ... undas*: cf. Lucan *Phars.* 1.157

280 *alueo*: here and at I.298, as two syllables by synizesis

283 *gurgite septino*: i.e. the seven branches at the Nile delta

284–9 *Sed quur ... lymfas*: 'But why, O Nile, should only your origins be said to be hidden from the world? For you who are unknown from your beginning are diffused not alone but as one in four from that (stream) which looks down on the encircled rivers from its lofty course, and as father of the sea itself towers above all waters which the mountains, plains, and clouds pour forth.'

284 *quur* = *cur*

286 *quartus*: i.e. 'as one in four'

illo: scil. *fonte paradisi*; cf. I.258

ipsius atque pater pelagi supereminet omnes,
 quas montes, quas plana uomunt, quas nubila lymfas.
 290 Quartus Fison erit, quem possidet India Gangen,
 motus odorifero quotiens qui uertice creuit,
 deciduas pulchro quas spargunt flumina luco,
 praelabens furatur opes et gurgite nostrum
 ducit in exilium; nam ripa largus utraque,
 295 amnibus ut nostris enodes ferre papyros
 aut scirpos algasque leues deducere mos est,
 excrementa trahens magnus sic ditia Gangis /
 9ra hoc etiam donat mundo, quod proicit alueo.

Interea primi, summus quos iunxerat Auctor,
 300 in paradisiaca ponuntur sede beati.
 Tum Rector tali proponit praemia lege:
 'O summum Factoris opus, quos sola creauit
 nostra manus, nasci cum cetera uoce iuberem,
 aspicitis quanto pulcherrimus ubere lucus
 305 per multas famuletur opes? Haec cuncta dabuntur
 ad uestros sine fine cibos. Hinc esca petatur:
 sumite concessas fruges, et carpite poma.
 Hic operis dulci studio secura quiescat
 deliciisque fruens longaeuo in tempore uita.
 310 Est tamen in medio nemoris, quam cernitis, arbor
 notitiam recti prauique in germine portans:
 huius ab accessu uetitum restringite tactum,
 nec uos forte praemat temeraria discere cura,
 quod Doctor prohibet: melius nescire beatis

291 *quotiens ... creuit*: a reference to the river's periodic flooding, 'however often it has increased'

292–3 *deciduas ... opes*: 'gliding by them it steals the riches which fall from the beautiful grove, riches which its waters disperse ...'

295–8 *amnibus ... alueo*: 'just as it is customary for our rivers to carry smooth reeds or to draw down rushes and weeds, so the great Ganges, drawing rich refuse, also gives to the world what it casts forth from the river bed.' Note the possible word-play: *alueo* 'river bed' and *aluo* 'bowels' are equally correct here.

308–9 *operis ... fruens*: oxymoron, 'may (life) rest, without cares, enjoying a pleasant pursuit of work and play'

30 De spiritalis historiae gestis

- 315 quod quaesisse nocet. Testor quem fecimus orbem
quod, si quis uetitum praesumpserit arbore pomum,
audax commissum mortis discrimine pendet.
Non inmensa loquor; facilis custodia recti est.
Seruator uitam, finem temerator habebit.'
- 320 Accipiunt iuuenes dictum laetique secuntur,
spondentes cuncto seruandam tempore legem.
Sic ignara mali nouitas nec conscia fraudis
incautas nulla tetigit formidine mentes.
At Pater instructos sacrata in sede relinquens
- 325 laetus in astrigeram caeli se sustulit aulam.
ALCIMI AUITI EPISCOPI
EXPLICIT DE INITIO MUNDI LIBER PRIMUS

INCIPIT DE ORIGINALI PECCATO
LIBER II

9**rb** Utitur interea, uenturi nescia casus, /
 libertas secura bonis fruiturque beata
 ubertate loci. Largos hinc porrigit illis
 tellus prompta cibos: fruticis quin alter opimi
 5 sumitur adsiduus tenui de caespite fructus.
 At si curuati fecundo pondere rami
 mitia submittunt sublimi ex arbore poma,
 protenus in florem uacuu turgiscere palmis
 incipit inque nouis fetum promittere gemmis.
 10 Iam si praedulces delectat carpere somnos,
 mollibus in pratis pictaque recumbitur herba,
 cumque uoluptati sacrum nemus offerat omnis
 delicias opibusque nouis se praebeat amplum,
 sic epulas tamen hi capiunt escamque requirunt,
 15 conpellit quod nulla famis, nec lassa fouendo
 indigus hortatur conpleri uiscera uenter.
 Et nisi concessum libuisset noscere pastum,
 esuries ignota cibos non posceret ullos,
 nullaque constantem fulcirent pabula uitam.
 20 Corpora nuda uident et mutua cernere membra
 non pudit, adque rudis fedum nil sentit honestas.
 Non natura hominis uitio, sed causa pudori est.
 Nam quecumque bonus formauit membra Creator,

4 *alter*: '(ever) another.' The constant renewal of fruits is explained in the next five lines.

8 *turgiscere* = *turgescere*
 palmis = *palmes*, 'branch'

10 *delectat*: impersonal

12 *omnis*: accusative plural

15 *quod*: refers to entire previous clause
 famis = *fames*

lassa fouendo: (*uiscera*) 'tired of nourishing'

21 *pudit* = *pudet*

22 *Non ... est*: 'nature is not the reason for man's sin, but for his shame (after the sin)'

32 De spiritalis historiae gestis

- ut pudibunda forent, carnis post compulit usus.
 25 Tunc mens intactos seruabat candida uisus,
 angelice qualis narratur gloria uitae
 sidereas habitare domos, qualemque redemtis
 spondit reddendam mortis post tempora Christus,
 quis neque coniugium curae nec foedere turpi
 30 miscebit calidos carnalis copula sexus.
 Cessabit gemitus, luxus, metus, ira, uoluptas,
 fraus, dolor adque dolus, meror, discordia, liuor.
 Nullus egens, nullus cupiens, sed pace sub una
 sufficiet cunctis sanctorum gloria, Christus. /
 9va His protoplastorum sensum primordia sacra
 continuere bonis, donec certamine primo
 uinceret oppraessos fallacem culpa per hostem.
 Angelus hic dudum fuerat, sed crimine postquam
 succensus proprio tumidos exarsit in ausus,
 40 se semet fecisse putans, suus ipse creator
 ut fuerit, rabido concepit corde furorem,
 Auctoremque negans: 'Diuinum consequar,' inquit,
 'nomen et aeternam ponam super aethera sedem
 excelso similis summis nec uiribus inpar.'
 45 Talia iactantem praecelsa potentia caelo
 iecit et eiectum prisco spoliauit honore.
 Quique creaturae praefulsit in ordine primus,
 primas uenturo pendet sub iudice poenas,
 quandoquidem grauior talem sententia punit,
 50 quem mirum cecidisse putes. Nam crimen acerbat
 auctor: in ignoto minor est peccante reatus;
 durius adque malum, quod maior fecit, habetur.

29 *quis* = *quibus*, dative plural; cf. III.62
curae: scil. *erit*

35–6 *His ... bonis*: ablative of means
sensum ... continuere: 'held their mind in check'

40 *se semet fecisse putans*: Satan in Prudentius' *Hamartigenia* also
 believes himself to be his own creator (lines 171–3).

42–3 *Diuinum ... sedem*: Is. 14:13

51 *auctor*: here 'performer (of the sin)'
in ignoto ... reatus: cf. Juvenal *Satires* 8.140

Sed quod uiuaces pertendit in abdita sensus,
 quodque futura uidet rerumque archana resignat,
 55 angelici feruens superest natura uigoris.
 Horrendum dictu signisque notabile monstrum:
 nam quicquid toto dirum committitur orbe,
 iste docet scelerumque manus ac tela gubernat,
 pugnat et occultus per publica crimina latro.
 60 Et nunc saepe hominum, nunc ille in saeua ferarum
 uertitur ora nouos uarians fallentia uultus.
 Alitis interdum subito mentita uolantis
 fit speties, habitusque iterum confingit honestos.
 Apparens nec non pulchro ceu corpore uirgo,
 65 protrahit ardentes obscena in gaudia uisus.
 Saepe etiam cupidis argentum inmane coruscat
 accenditque animos auri fallentis amore, /
 9vb delusos fugiens uano fantasmate tactus.
 Nulli certa fides constat uel gratia formae:
 70 sed quo quemque modo capiat teneatque nocendo,
 oportuna dolis clausaeque adcommoda fraudi
 sumitur exterior simulata fronte figura.
 Maior adhuc etiam saeuo permissa potestas,
 ut sanctum fingat: dudum conlata creato
 75 sic natura ualet, rectam quam condidit Auctor,
 sed post ad prauos subuersor transtulit usus.
 Uidit ut iste nouos homines in sede quieta
 ducere felicem nullo discrimine uitam,
 lege sub accepta famulo dominarier orbi,
 80 subiectisque frui placida inter gaudia rebus,
 commouit subitum zeli scintilla uaporem,
 excreuitque calens in saeua incendia liuor.

59 *latro*: 'as a thief'

63 *speties* = *species*

69 *Nulli*: dative with *constat*

71 *oportuna* ... *adcommoda*: adjectives modifying *figura* in line 72

73 *saeuo*: 'the cruel one' (scil. Satan)

74 *ut sanctum fingat*: 'to assume the appearance of a holy man'

77 *ut*: 'as soon as' introducing *iste uidit*

79 *dominarier*: archaic present infinitive form of deponent verb

- Uicinus tunc forte fuit, quo concidit alto,
 lapsus, et innexam traxit per prona cateruam.
 85 Hoc recolens casumque premens in corde recentem,
 plus doluit periisse sibi quod possidet alter.
 Tum mixtus cum felle pudor sic pectore quaestus
 explicat et tali suspiria uoce relaxat:
 'Pro dolor, hoc nobis subitum consurgere plasma
 90 inuisumque genus nostra creuisse ruina!
 Me celsum uirtus habuit, nunc ecce reiectus
 pellor et angelico limus succedit honori.
 Caelum terra tenet, uili conpage leuata
 regnat humus nobisque perit translata potestas.
 95 Non tamen in totum periit: pars magna retentat
 uim propriam summaque cluit uirtute nocendi.
 Nec differre iuuat: iam nunc certamine blando
 congrediar, dum prima salus experta nec ullos
 simplicitas ignaua dolos ad tela patebit;
 100 et melius soli capientur fraude priusquam /
 10ra fecundam mittant aeterna in saecula prolem.
 Immortale nihil terra prodire sinendum est;
 fons generis pereat; capitis deiectio uicti
 semen mortis erit. Pariat discrimina laeti
 105 uitae principium; cuncti feriantur in uno.
 Non faciet uiuum radix occisa cacumen.
 Haec mihi deiecto tantum solatia restant:
 si nequeo clausos iterum conscendere caelos,
 his quoque claudantur. Leuius cecidisse putandum est,
 110 si noua perdaturo simili substantia casu.

83 *Uicinus*: in temporal sense here, 'recent'87 *quaestus* = *questus*, 'complaints,' accusative plural89-90 *consurgere, creuisse*: exclamatory infinitives with subject accusative98-9 *dum ... patebit*: 'while first well-being and weak simplicity, having experienced no trickery, will be exposed to (my) weapons'103-4 *capitis ... erit*: 'the downfall of the vanquished head will be the seed of death'104 *laeti* = *leti*

Sit comis excidii, subeat consortia poenae
 et, quos praeuideo, nobiscum diuidat ignes.
 Sed nec difficilis fallendi causa petetur:
 haec monstranda uia est dudum quam sponte cucurri
 115 in primum lapsus; quae me iactantia regno
 depulit, haec hominem paradisi limine pellet.’
 Sic ait et gemitus uocem clausere dolentis.

Forte fuit cunctis animantibus altior astu,
 aemulus arguto callet qui pectore, serpens.
 120 Huius transgressor de cunctis sumere formam
 eligit, aerium circumdans tegmine corpus
 inque repentinum mutatus tenditur anguem:
 fit longa ceruice draco, splendentia colla
 depingit maculis, teretisque uolumina dorsi
 125 asperat et squamis per terga ridentibus armat.
 Qualis uere nouo, primis cum mensibus aestas
 praemittit laetos post frigora pigra tepores,
 euadens ueterem reparatis motibus annum
 et siccum nitido discingens corpore tegmen,
 130 procedit coluber, terrarumque abdita linquens,
 profert terribilis metuendum forma decorem.
 Dira micant oculi; tum lumine uisus acuto
 laetior optatum discit consuescere solem; /
 10rb nunc simulat blandum, crebro ceu carmine fauces
 135 ludunt, et trifidam dispergunt guttura linguam.
 Ergo ut uipeream malesuada fraude figuram

111 *Sit ... excidii*: ‘may he be a sharer in ruin’

118 *cunctis animantibus*: ablative of comparison with *altior*
astu: ablative of specification

120 *Huius*: modifies *formam* and refers to *serpens*

122 *inque ... anguem*: word order here may help demonstrate the process of transformation from angel into serpent; *in* followed by *rep...* may suggest *in reptile*, until the following syllables ‘transform’ the word and suspend the object of the preposition until the end of the line. Despite the suggestion of rapidity (*repentinum*) the poet does describe a process of transformation in the succeeding lines.

126 Cf. Virgil *Aen.* 2.471.

128 *euadens* etc.: the subject is *coluber*, line 130

- induit et totum fallax processit in anguem,
 peruolat ad lucum, nam forte rubentia laeti
 carpebant iuuenes uiridi de palmite mala.
 140 Tum ueritus serpens, firma ne mente uirili
 non queat iniecto subuertere corda ueneno,
 arboris erectae spiris reptantibus alto
 porrigitur tractumque suum sublimibus aequans,
 auditum facilem leni sic uoce momordit:
 145 'O felix mundique decus, pulcherrima uirgo,
 ornat quam roseo praefulgens forma pudore,
 tu generi uentura parens, te maximus orbis
 expectat matrem; tu prima et certa uoluptas
 solamenque uiri, sine qua non uiueret ipse;
 150 ut maior, sic iure tuo subiectus amori
 praedulcis coniux, reddes cui foedere prolem.
 Uobis digna datur paradisi in uertice sedis,
 uos subiecta tremit famulans substantia mundi;
 quod caelum, quod terra creat, quod gurgite magno
 155 producit pelagus, uestros confertur in usus.
 Nil natura negat, datur ecce in cuncta potestas.
 Non equidem inuideo, miror magis. Ut tamen una
 contineat liber dulci super arbore tactus,
 scire uelim; quis dira iubet, quis talia dona
 160 inuidet et rebus ieiunia miscet opimis?'
 Haec male blanditam finxerunt sibila uocem.
 Quis stupor, O mulier, mentem caligine clausit?

- 140–41 *ueritus*: past participle of *uereor*, 'having feared' with *ne ... non*,
 'that ... not'
 140 *firma ... mente uirili*: place where is denoted freely in poetry by
 the ablative without a preposition
 141 *corda*: here, 'feelings,' 'judgements'
 144 *auditum ... momordit*: 'caught hold of an audience (in Eve),' but
 the verb also obviously foreshadows the nature of the serpent's
 request of Eve.
 146 *roseo ... pudore*: 'with rosy blush'
 152 *sedis* = *sedes*
 157 Virgil *Ecl.* 1.11
 157–8 *Ut tamen ... arbore tactus*: 'that your free touch should keep
 from one pleasant tree (the result of God's prohibition)'

Cum serpente loqui, uerbum cummittere bruto
 non pudet? Ut uestram praesumat belua linguam,
 165 et monstrum pateris; responsumque insuper addis?
 Ergo ubi mortiferum seductilis Euua uenenum /
 10va auribus accipiens laudi consensit iniquae,
 tunc ad serpentem uano sic ore loquuta est:
 'Suauibus O pollens coluber dulcissime dictis,
 170 non ut rere Deus nobis ieiunia suasit
 nec prohibet largo curari corpora pastu.
 Ecce uides epulas, totus quas porrigit orbis:
 omnibus his licito Genitor promptissimus uti
 praestitit et totas uitae laxauit habenas.
 175 Haec sola est nemoris medii, quam perspicis, arbor
 interdicta cibis, haec tantum tangere poma
 non licitum; diuis praesumit cetera uictus.
 Nam si libertas temeraret noxia legem,
 iurans terribili praedixit uoce Creator
 180 quadam nos statim luituros "morte" reatum.
 Quid uocitet mortem, tu nunc, doctissimae serpens,
 pande libens, quoniam rudibus non cognita res est.'
 Callidus inde draco et leti tum sponte magister
 interitum docet et captas sic fatur ad aures:
 185 'Terroris uacuum formidas, femina, nomen.
 Non ueniet uobis rapidae sententia mortis:
 sed Pater inuisus sortem non contulit aequam,
 nec uos scire dedit sibimet quae summa reseruat.
 Quid iuuat ornatum conpraehendi aut cernere mundum,
 190 et caecas misero concludi carcere mentes?
 Corporeos pariter sensus oculosque patentes
 sic brutis natura creat, sol omnibus unus
 seruit, et humano non distat belua uisu.
 Consilium mage sume meum mentemque supernis

163 *cummittere* = *committere*

177 *diuis ... uictus*: 'ample nourishment assumes all the rest'

189 *conpraehendi*: scans as *cōnpraēhēndi* in two syllables with *i* elided

194 *mage*: a form of *magis*; cf. II.267

- 195 insere et erectos in caelum porrige sensus.
 Namque hoc, quod uetitum formidas tangere, pomum
 scire dabit quaecumque Pater secreta reponit.
 Tu modo suspensos tantum ne contene tactus,
 nec captiua diu frenetur lege uoluptas.
- 200 Namque ubi diuinum libaueris ore saporem, /
 10vb mox purgata tuo facient te lumina uisu
 aequiperare deos, sic sancta ut noxia nosse,
 iniustum recto, falsum discernere uero.'
- Talia fallaci spondentem dona susurro
- 205 credula submisso miratur femina uultu.
 Et iam iamque magis cunctari ac flectere sensum
 incipit, et dubiam leto plus addere mentem.
 Ille ut uicino uictam discrimine sensit,
 adque iterum nomen memorans arcemque deorum,
- 210 unum de cunctis letali ex arbore malum
 detrahit et suaui pulchrum perfundit odore.
 Conciliat speciem nutantique insuper offert,
 nec spernit miserum mulier male credula munus;
 sed capiens manibus pomum letale retractat.
- 215 Naribus interdum labiisque petentibus ultro
 iungit, et ignorans ludit de morte futura.
- O quotiens ori atmotum compuncta retrahit,
 audacisque mali titubans sub pondere dextra
 cessit et effectum sceleris tremefacta refugit!
- 220 Diis tamen esse cupit similis, serpitque uenenum
 ambitione nocens. Rapiunt contraria mentem,
 hinc amor, inde metus; pulsat iactantia legem

198 *contene* = *contine*199 *nec*: used for *ne* after the first negative exhortation.

204ff. This passage shows Avitus at his dramatic best. He presents Eve in the balance and draws maximum suspense.

207 *addere*: here in the sense of 'to bring toward,' with dative and accusative211 *detrahit*: in Gn. 3:6 Eve herself, not the serpent, removes the fruit from the tree.217 *atmotum* = *admotum*; scil. *pomum*220 *Diis*: scanned monosyllabically

interdumque etiam lex subuenit. Aestuat anceps
diuidui cordis dura inter proelia fluctus.

225 Nec tamen incentor desistit fallere serpens,
ostentatque cibum dubiae quaeriturque morari,
et iuuat in lapsum pendentis prona ruinae.

Ut tandem uictae grauior sententia sedit
aeternam temptare famem per criminis escam,
230 serpentem saciare cibo quem sumeret ipsa,
adnuat insidiis pomumque uorata momordit.
Dulce subit uirus, capitur mors horrida pastu.
Contentet hic primum sua gaudia callidus anguis, /
11ra dissimulatque ferum uicturia saeua triumphum.

235 Ignarus facti, diuersa parte reuertens,
Adam diffusi laetus per gramina campi
coniugis amplexus adque oscula casta petebat.
Occurrit mulier, cui tunc audatia primum
flabat femineos animosa in corda furores.
240 Et sic orsa loqui, semesum namque gerebat
adseruans misero pomum exsitiale marito:
'Sume cibum dulcis uitali ex germine coniux,
quod similem summo faciet te forte Tonanti
numinibusque parem. Non hoc tibi nescia donum,
245 sed iam docta feram: primus mea uiscera gustus
attigit, audaci dissoluens pacta periculo.
Crede libens, mentem scelus est dubitasse uirilem,
quod mulier potui. Praecedere forte timebas,
saltim consequere atque animos attolle iacentes.

226 *quaeriturque morari*: scil. *eam*; *quaeritur* = *queritur*

227 *proua*: 'the one inclined (Eve)'

228 *sedit*: 'was settled, was firmly resolved'

230 *saciale* = *satiare*, 'satisfy.' Note the irony in this line.

231 *uorata*: 'devoured' (by temptation). Note the pun with *momordit*.

233 *contentet* = *continet*

234 *dissimulatque*: emphasis is on this verb, 'victory *conceals* its triumph'

uicturia = *uictoria*

249 *consequere*: present imperative

- 250 Lumina quur flectis? Quur prospera uota moraris
uenturoque diu tempus furaris honori?
Haec effata dabat uicturae fercula mortis;
intereunt anima letum dum crimina pascunt.
Accipit infelix malesuada uerba susurri,
255 inflexosque retro deiecit ad ultima sensus.
Non illum trepidi concussit cura pauoris,
nec quantum gustu cunctata est femina primo;
sed sequitur uelox miseraequae ex coniugis ore
constanter rapit inconstans dotale uenenum,
260 faucibus et patulis inimicas porrigit escas.
Uix uno pomum libauerat horrida morsu
ingluuies, summumquae dabat uix esca saporem:
ecce, repentinus fulgor circumstetit ora,
lugendoque nouos respersit lumine uisus.
265 Non cecos natura dedit, nec luminis usu
priuatam faciem peperit perfectio formae. /
11rb Nunc mage cecus eris, cui iam non sufficit illud
noscere, quod tantus uoluit te nosse Creator.
Ad uitam uobis cernendi facta facultas,
270 uos etiam letum uestra sed sponte uidetis.
Tum patuisse gemunt oculos; nam culpa rebellis
fulsit, et obscenos senserunt corpora motus.
Tum primum nudos (dubium, quid dicere possim)
extinctus natusne pudor circumspicit artus.
275 erubuit propriae iam mens sibi conscia culpaе,
pugnauitque suis carnis lex indita menbris.

- 253 *dum*: here follows first word of its clause, 'they perish in soul
while their sins feed death'
254 *malesuada* = *malesuadi*, genitive singular
255 *inflexosque ... sensus*: 'and finally casts behind him his altered
thoughts'
257 *nec ... primo*: 'nor (did he hesitate) as much as the woman hesi-
tated with her first bite'
266 *priuatam*: 'deprived of,' with ablative
274 *extinctus natusne*: 'whether destroyed or made,' interrogative
particle omitted in first member
276 *indita*: imposed

Namque hinc posteritas uitiatō germinē duxit
 artibus inlicitis cognoscere uelle futura
 arcanisque sacris tardos inmittere sensus,
 280 edita uel caelo uel tetro mersa profundo
 rimari, et cautas naturae inrumpere leges;
 quaerere nunc astris quo quisquam sidere natus,
 prospera quam ducat restantis tempora uitae,
 dissimilem paribus prouentum dicere signis;
 285 nec non et geminos uno sub tempore fusos,
 quos indiscretus luci produxerit ortus,
 motibus aduersis uaria sub sorte notare;
 indigites quosdam stelis adscribere diuos,
 iunior antiquis aetas quos protulit astris,
 290 adque infernali iam dudum nocte sepultis
 uana per inmensum disponere nomina caelum.
 Iam magicam digne ualeat quis dicere fraudem
 occultas tacito temtantem pectore uires,
 diuinis iungi uirtutibus et cupientem?
 295 Legifer ut quondam uatis sub rege superbo,
 dum noua monstraret iussi miracula signi,
 commouit liuore magos ut talia temtent
 adcumulentque suas zelo feruente ruinas:
 Illis suppeteret rectas si sorte potestas /

- 278 *uelle*: infinitive here used as accusative of a noun, with its own complementary infinitive, 'took *the desire* to know ...'
 282–91 On the criticism of astrological predictions based on the difficulties with twins cf. Augustine *Civ. Dei* 5.2. On the criticism of giving divine names to stars cf. *Civ. Dei* 3.18.
 284 *dissimilem ... signis*: sarcasm, 'to predict a different fate through like symbols'
 285 *geminos ... fusos*: 'twins born'
 288 *stelis* = *stellis*
 290 *infernali ... sepultis*: 'from those (former gods and heroes) now long buried in infernal night'
 293–4 *temtantem, cupientem*: introduce two participial phrases modifying *fraudem*
 295 *Legifer ... uatis*: Moses (Ex. 7:10ff.)
 299 *rectas*: scil. *potestates* or *uires*
 299–300 *Illis ... monstra*: 'If it chanced that their power were able to

- 11va demere, non etiam festinent addere monstra;
aemula sed signis tantum, non uiribus aequa,
quod remouere nequid, duplicauit iustius ira.
Hinc est, laudato possunt quod crimine Marsi,
cum tacita saeuos producunt arte dracones,
305 absentes et saepe iubent conflagere saecum.
Tunc ut quisque grauem bello persenserit ydrum,
aspidis aut durae clausas cognouerit aures,
concutit interius secreti carminis arma:
protenus et lassis uerbo luctante uenenis,
310 mox inpune manu coluber tractatur inhermis
et morsus tantum, non uirus in angue timetur.
Interdum perit incantans, si callida surdus
adiuratoris contempsit murmora serpens.
Hoc quoniam de matre trahunt et origine prima,
315 anguine fraudis quod sic linguaeque periti,
mutua per carmen reddunt commertia fandi.
Nec minus his pulsat contraria cura saluti,
angit praescitus ducti quos terminus aeui,

destroy just powers [scil. those of Moses], they would not hasten to add marvels of their own.' I.e. Pharaoh's magicians would have destroyed Aaron's staff, if they had had the power, rather than merely duplicate the miracle.

303 *Marsi*: a tribe of Latium renowned for snake charming

305 *absentes ... saecum*: 'and they often command (serpents) from afar to fight against them'; *saecum* = *secum*

306–11 *Tunc ut ... timetur*: 'Then, when someone should either clearly sense a water serpent made sluggish by fighting, or should recognize the closed ears of an unyielding asp, he hurls inward weapons of secret chant; and thereafter, when the poisons have been neutralized by the word which does the fighting, the serpent may soon be taken up in the hand, as a harmless thing, and only the bite and not the poison is feared in the snake.'

312 *perit incantans*: cf. Eccl. 12:13

315 *anguine* = *anguinae*, genitive singular

anguine fraudis, linguaeque: genitive with *periti*. The *quod* clause understands the verb *to be*.

quod: introduces the explanation of the *hoc*, line 314, 'namely that ...'

cum tamen eductas infernis sedibus umbras
 320 conloquium miscere putent et nota referre.
 Spiritus erroris sed qui bachatur in illis,
 ad consulta parat uanis responsa figuris.
 Et ne porrecto dicantur singula uerbo,
 praesenti inlusus damnabitur ille perenni
 325 iuditio, quisquis uetitum cognoscere temptat.
 Nec iam sola fuit scrutatrix Aeua malorum:
 dicam nunc aliam tali quae peste laborans
 et coniuncta uiro proprium non uicerit Adam.
 Peccandi quasdam feruor succenderat urbes,
 330 ciuica permitens laxatis crimina frenis.
 Incestus pro lege fuit, totumque libido
 ius habuit: regni sedem metata uoluptas /
 11vb indigenas populos domina sub carne tenebat;
 et scelerum studio fida quod plebe localis
 335 dudum parendi promptis res publica iussit,
 abstenuisse nefas et non peccasse pudendum
 credebant omnes facinus quos iunxerat omne.
 Talibus offensus Iudex adque Arbiter orbis,
 cum fureret flammisque loco finemque pararet,
 340 quendam dissimilem cunctis (tecto)que latentem
 qui tunc forte fuit propria peregrinus in urbe,
 atque inter multos solum sic adloquitur Loth:
 'Oppida lasciuo iam dudum plena furore
 respergunt caelum maculis nostrasque fatigant

319–20 *cum ... referre*: 'since, however, they imagine that ghosts, summoned from netherworld homes, engage in discourse and convey what they know'

323 *Et ... uerbo*: 'and lest individual cases be discussed in extended discourse'

326 *Aeua* = *Eua*

327 *aliam*: Lot's wife

329 Gn. 18:20ff.

330 *permitens* = *permittens*

332 *metata*: 'having traversed'

334–5 *et scelerum ... iussit*: 'and because the local administration commanded those long ready to obey (since the people were loyal to the pursuit of wickedness) ...'

- 345 quamuis obstructas scelerum clamoribus aures.
 Inminet exitium, tellus succensa reatu
 ignibus ardebit, restinguet fulminis imber,
 quae non extinxit feruentia crimina fletus.
 Ipsa in perpetuas soluetur terra fauillas,
 350 quae uiuos cineres et post incendia seruans
 sicque solum fingens, leuiter si calce teretur,
 ad minimum fugiens discedet pallida tactum.
 Tu nunc linque domum, perituras desere terras,
 et rea cum dignis subsidant arua colonis.
 355 Nec tete inpendens letum coniunxerit illis,
 non iunxit quos uita tibi. Solatia coniux
 praebeat, ac tantum sotia contentus habito.
 Adcelerate fugam, tendatur tramite recto;
 neu subuertendas quisquam respexerit urbes.
 360 Uos nescite malum; poenas, quicumque subibit,
 adspitiat; mortisquae suae spectacula secum,
 qui meruere, ferant; saluandis terror abesto.
 Haec Pater. Ast illi properant abscedere terra,
 inciduntque moras crudeliaque arua relinquunt.
 365 Coeperat obduci uictum caligine densa /
 12ra adque ignota prius dimittere murmora caelum.
 Nec sic, ut tonitru crebro cum percitus aether
 ostentat pavidis innoxia fulmina terris;
 sed prorsus finale malum stridori minaci
 370 taetra per arios mittebant signa tumultus.
 Tendebant moniti simul et mandata tenentes
 concessam rectis ad sedem uultibus ibant.
 Callidus alta petens sed qui subuerterat Euuam
 serpens, femineam consuetus tangere mentem,
 375 hic quoque formidans animum temptare uirilem,
 coniugis inspirat uotis, ut nosse ruinas
 uellit et euasas uisu deprendere clades.

350 *et post: 'even after'*

357 *habito = abito, 'leave,' future imperative*

372 *concessam sedem: i.e. the biblical Segor (Gn. 19:22)*

377 *uellit = uellet*

O demens animi! Cur iam non sufficit unam
subcumbisse dolo? Caruit iam parte bonorum
380 qui mala cognouit. Si non exempla priorum
terrent, exemplum fies nostroqui timori:
uel post te pereat secreti dira cupido.
Inlicitum quod scire fuit uetitumque tueri,
respiciens tantum nec narratura uidebis.
385 Ergo ubi maiorem uicina ex urbe tumultum
accepit mulier, uultum tunc flexa retortum,
uix primo in uisu restrictis motibus haesit,
cernere desistens cum coeperat. Inde gelato
sanguine marmoreus perfudit uiscera torpor,
390 diriguere genae, pallor nouus inficit ora.
Lumina non clausit, non saltim concidit illo
pondere, quo pulsant dimissa cadauera terram,
sed stetit horrendo perlucens massa nitore,
seruauitque suam species decepta figuram,
395 nec facile ut nosses utrum lapis anne metallum
succedens humini, si non sal fauce notetur.
Ex tunc insipido mulier praeuenta reatu
plus salsum sine mente sapit, quae pungere sensus
exemplique potest salibus condire uidentes. /

- 381 *nostroqui ... timori*: dative of purpose; *nostroqui* = *nostroque*
383 *quod*: direct object
384 *nec narratura uidebis*: i.e. 'You will see but will not be able to tell what you see.'
386 *uultum ... retortum*: accusative of specification with *flexa*; see also III.142
390 *diriguere*: 3rd plural perfect of *derigescere*; cf. Virgil *Aen.* 7.447
pallor ... inficit ora: cf. Horace *Epod.* 7.15, Virgil *Aen.* 4.499
391 *Lumina*: '(her) eyes'
395–6 *nec facile ... notetur*: 'so that you would not easily know whether it were stone or metal that took the place of the human being (*succedens humini*), if you did not taste the salt in your throat'; cf. Job 28:17
396 *humini* = *homini*
398 *plus salsum ... pungere sensus*: cf. Mt. 5:13
399 *exemplique potest ... condire uidentes*: cf. Augustine *Civ. Dei* 16.30

12rb Hoc tamen hic magnum, quod non inflectitur iste
nec sequitur sociam, fortis nec uincitur Adam.
Credo equidem melius, quod non occurrerit uxor
enarrare uiro: nam si conperta referret,
forsan et hunc uisu suasisset temnere iussa,
405 ceu proprium gustu fecit primeua uirago;
quae postquam sese pariter comitemque fefellit,
et nondum natam percussit uulnere prolem.
Tum uictor serpens certamine laetus ab ipso,
puniceam crispans squamoso in uertice cristam,
410 iam non dissimulans, quem presserat ante, triumphum,
acrior insultat uictis et taliter inquit:
'En, diuina manet promissae gloria laudis!
Quicquid scire meum potuit, iam credite uestrum est:
omnia monstraui sensumque per abdita duxi,
415 et quodcumque malum sollers natura negabat,
institui dextrisque dedi coniungere laeuum.
Istinc perpetua uosmet mihi sorte dicaui.
Nec Deus in uobis, quamquam formauerit ante,
iam plus iuris habet: teneat, quod condidit ipsae;
420 quod docui meum est; maior mihi portio restat.
Multa creatori debetis, plura magistro.'
Dixit et in media trepidos caligine linquens,
confictum periit fugiens per nubila corpus.
ALCIMI AUITI EPISCOPI EXPLICIT DE
ORIGINALI PECCATO LIBER SECUNDUS

401 (iste) fortis Adam: Lot

407 et nondum ... prolem: Avitus again calls attention to the wide-spread effect of the first sin.

413 scire meum: 'my knowledge'

419 ipsae = ipse

INCIPIT DE SENTENTIA DEI
LIBER III

Tempus erat, quo sol medium transcenderet axem,
 pronus et excelsi linquens fastigia centri,
 uicina iam nocte leues permiserat auras.
 Illis sed maior curarum uoluitur aestus,
 5 feruentesque tenent male conscia corda dolores. /
 12va Utque pudor capto detorsit lumina sensu,
 reppulit et miseros alterno a corpore uisus,
 nec iam segura praestatur luce tueri
 signatam fixo peccati stigmate carnem,
 10 indumenta petunt, foliis ut mollibus ambo
 membra tegant nudumque malum de ueste patescat.
 Umbrosis propter stabat ficulnea ramis,
 frondentes diffusa comas, quas protenus Adam,
 15 umentem capiens raso de cortice librum,
 adsuit et uiridi solatur ueste ruborem.
 Induitur simili mulier lacrimabilis arte,
 quosque paut misero fallax insania pomo,
 uestiuit folio: saeua quos arbore nudos
 reddidit, hos grauius tenui super arbore texit.
 20 Et tamen adueniet tempus, cum crimina ligni
 per lignum sanet purgetque nouissimus Adam,
 materiamque ipsam faciet medicamina uitae,
 qua mors inualuit; laeto delebere, laetum.

- 3 *leues permiserat auras*: influenced by Gn. 3:8. Here the setting sun is said to have allowed gentle breezes to pass through the garden.
- 12 *propter*: the adverb 'nearby'
- 13 *frondentes ... comas*: accusative of specification with *diffusa*
- 14 *umentem ... librum*: cf. *udo ... libro*, Virgil *Geor.* 277
- 18–19 *saeua ... texit*: the subject is still *fallax insania*. I.e. their madness rendered them shamefully naked and now has covered them, which is worse.
- 23 *laeto, laetum* = *leto, letum* (vocative)

- Aereus excelso pendeat stipite serpens,
 25 cumque uenenatum simulauerit, omne uenenum
 purget, et antiquum perimat sua forma draconem.
 Interea Genitor uiridis per mollia luci
 rorantes sudo capiebat ab aere uentos.
 Protenus adtonitis senserunt auribus ambo
 30 presentem Dominum; tristi tum luce perosa
 expauere diem detecto in crimine testem.
 Illos nam, uastis specubus si forte baratrum /
 13ra panderet aut subitum tellus monstraret hiatum,
 (insert) non pigeat prono trepidos descendere saltu;
 35 et si suppeteret iam tum sententia laeti,
 hanc etiam raperet solandi cura pudoris:
 se flammis limfisue darent, uel pectora ferro
 adpeteret uindex crudeli uulnere dextra.
 Sic miseri mortem nondum discrimine notam,
 40 cum primum meruere, uolunt. Exordia finem
 signant, et similis praedicunt adfore luctus,
 ultima cum mundi senium consumserit aetas,
 cumque repentinus percusserit omnia fulgor
 caelorum, clangente tuba, qua nuntius ante
 45 Iudicis aduentum concussum terreat orbem.
 Tunc, cum sinceros Pastor discreuerit agnos,
 haedis disparibus diuersa in parte locatis,
 per medium dirimente chao, quod fluctibus implet
 sulfureis uoluens undosa incendia gurgis, /
 13rb flammarum stagnante lacu, quo feruida condamn
 dicitur adtracto nubis Sodomitica nimbo
 guttatim sparsum fudisse in crimina fulmen,
 cum plueret nox tetra focos, caeloque caduce
 aera per calidum stillarent undique mortes.
 55 Taliter ignifero missi de fonte Gehennae

24 *Aereus ... serpens*: Nm. 21:8-9; cf. Io. 3:1446-7 *cum sinceros ... locatis*: Mt. 25:3350 *condam = quondam*: cf. III.10551 *nubis = nubes**Sodomitica*: Gn. 19:24ff.

fluxerunt tristes aliena in saecula riui.

Ad quem terribili Iudex decreuerit hora
uiuere post mortem poenaeque ardere perenni,
subtrahet optato grauior sententia laeto;

60 cumque foret melius dispersis corpora membris
carpere perpetuum dura sub morte soporem,
inuitos tamen urna uomet, quis sola uoluntas
rursus posse mori sensuque carere dolenti.

Sed (sic) accipiet feruentis flamma camini
65 ambustura suas, ut numquam finiat, escas.

Ad primi interea iuuenes conamine casso /
13va per deserta ruunt tutoque abscondita furto
facta putant, caecis obtant latuisse tenebris.

Quid iuuat, infelix, oculos a Iudice flectis?

70 Te Iudex cernit. Nolis quur ipse uidere,
cum uideare palam? Solem non fuscet amoenum,
si depraessa grauem formidant lumina lucem,
debilis et sanum uisus non sustinet orbem.

Tum sic terribili primum Deus increpat ore
75 atque, ubi sit, miserum noscens interrogat Adam.

Qui, trepidam puido producit pectore uocem,
uix haec pauca refert: 'Tuus, O Celsissime, terror
mentibus insidens latebram temptare coegit.

Nam quia nuda forent inopertis corpora membris,
80 erubui, fateor, caelumque per abdita fugi.'

'Et quis,' ait, 'subitum concussit corde pudorem?
Uisus et unde nouus? Nam te nec uellera dudum
nec contexta prius uelauit tegmine uestis. /

13vb Forma rudis proprio melius contenta decore
85 iudice se placuit; sed postquam foedere rupto
interdicta tuus perstrinxit germina gustus,
naturale tibi tegmen non sufficit unum,
hactenus et nudis nunc denudata patescunt,

57 *Ad* = *at*

62 *quis* = *quibus*

68 *obtant* = *optant*

71 *fuscet*: the subject is *Iudex*, line 70

arguit obscenus quia turpis corpora motus.'

- 90 Ille ubi conuictum claro se lumine uidit,
prodidit et totum discussio iusta reatum,
non praece submissa ueniam pro crimine poscit,
non uotis lacrimisue rogat, nec uindice fletu
praecurrit meritam supplex confessio poenam.
95 Iamque miser factus, nondum miserabilis ille est;
eregitur sensu tumidisque accensa querellis
fertur in insanas laxata superbia uoces:

12va 'Heu! Male perdendo mulier coniuncta marito, /
continues quam sociam misero prima sub lege dedisti,
100 haec me consiliis uicit deuicta sinistris,
haec sibi iam notum persuasit sumere pomum.
Ista mali caput est, crimen surrexit ab ista.

Credulus ipse fui, sed credere te docuisti,
conubium donans et dulcia uincula nectens. /
12vb Atque utinam felix, quae condam sola uigebat,
caelebs uita foret, talis nec coniugis umquam
foedera sensisset, comiti non subdita prauae.'

Hac igitur rigidi commotus mente Creator,
maerentem celsis conpellat uocibus Æuuam:

- 110 'Cur miserum labens traxisti in prona maritum,
nec contenta tuo, decepatrix femina, casu,
sublimi sensum iecisti ex arce uirilem?'
Illa pudens tristisque genas suffosa rubore
auctorem sceleris clamat decepta draconem,
115 qui pomum uetito persuasit tangere morsu.

Post haec finalem promit sententia legem,
serpentemque reum prima sic uoce notauit:
'Tu coluber, cuius peccauit femina fraude
errorisque uirum consortem reddidit ipsa,
120 propter utrumque reus pendes quod fecit uterque:

- 96 *eregitur* = *erigitur*
105 *condam* = *quondam*
108 *rigidi*: scil. *uiri*
113 *genas*: accusative of respect
suffosa = *suffusa*

- nec tibi sublimi constabit corpore uertix,
 callida sed pronus per terram pectora uolues;
 utque fuga trepido sinuosa uolumina currant,
 non gressus, sed lapsus erit, teque ipse sequeris,
 125 flexibus et spiras uiuentia uincula nectent.
 Tum propter suasam miserorum cordibus escam
 tellurem captans pastu uesceris inani;
 mensibus et certis supero depulsus ab orbe,
 inclusus terris communi sole carebis.
- 130 Inter cuncta, replent quae nunc animantia mundum,
 auctor mortis eris, fies grauis omnibus horror.
 Praecipue infelix mulier cum prole futura
 sic inimicitias odio currente reponat,
 semina seminibus mandent ut uota nocendi.
- 135 Insistens semper pauidae sectabere calcem:
 conterat illa caput uictoremque ultima uincat.’
 Post haec attonitam Iudix commotus in Æuuam: /
- 14ra ‘Ad tu, quae primam uiolasti femina legem,
 accipe, succiduum uitae quod restat in aeuum.
- 140 Imperium patiere tori dominumque timebis,
 quem socium dederam: parebis subdita iussis
 et curuata caput libitus adsuesce uirilis.
 Moxque ubi concipiens fetum persenserit aluus,
 uentris honus gemitu testaberis, ac tibi clausum
- 145 anxia crescentem portabunt uiscera fascem:
 donec transacto fastidia tempore complens,
 naturale malum partu sub uindice pendat
 producens uitam prolis. Sic poena parentis.
 Quid diuersa loquar post iam discrimina matris?

123 *trepido*: adverbial

132–4 *Praecipue ... nocendi*: ‘Especially the unhappy woman with her future offspring will store away enmities (for you), with continuous hatred so that her seed will entrust to seed the vows of harm’; cf. Gn. 3:15.

142 *libitus*: accusative plural, *TLL* s.v. 2

146–8 *donec ... prolis*: ‘until, the time completed, completing the tediousness (of pregnancy), she pays the natural evil suffering beneath avenging childbirth, producing the life of her offspring’

- 150 Nam cum praeduro mulier confecta labore
 optatam sobolem tali produxeris ortu,
 lugebis uacuos nonnumquam orbata dolores.'
 Interea trepidus iam dudum sustinet Adam,
 quid sibi terribilis tandem sententia seruet.
- 155 Cui Pater: 'Adtentis,' inquit, 'nunc auribus et tu
 accipe quid mereare, leuis quem femina uicit.
 Inpolluta prius pulchro sub germine tellus,
 non iam fida satis nec puro semine simplex
 pristina monstrabit corruptum terga per orbem,
- 160 exemploque tuo semper tibi terra rebellans
 uepribus ac tribulis armata resistere discet.
 Aut si frangenti cedens subcumbet aratro
 uomeris et fixo mordaci dente subacta est,
 pingua decipient mentito germine culta.
- 165 Nam pro triticeo lolium consurgere fructu
 et fictas segetes uacuasque dolebis hauenas.
 Sic uix extortum producent iugera panem,
 sudore adsiduo nitens quem sumat egestas,
 inlecebramque cibi poenalis uindicet esca.
- 170 Aequalem brutis facient tibi pabula uitam, /
 14rb et simul herbarum sucos pastumque requirens,
 stercore consimili depressa grauabitur aluus.
 Erumnosa diu uoluetur talibus aetas,
 donec praescriptum ponant tibi saecula finem
- 175 et compacta luto soluantur tempore membra:
 limo formatus rursus redigeris in aruum.
 Ante tamen proprium nati praecurrere laetum
 conspicias, poenasque tuas in prole uidebis.
 Ut metuenda magis cernatur mortis imago,

159 *pristina ... terga*: 'clods of earth (Goelzer p. 699) as they had been beforehand.' The reference is probably to the time when the earth was simply *arida* (I. 15), before its embellishment with plant life (I. 24–9).

166 *hauenas* = *auenas*

169 *inlecebramque ... esca*: 'and let this fodder as a punishment compensate for the enticement of the food [i.e. *pomi*]'

179–81 *Ut metuenda ... mori*: 'In order that the image of death be more

- 180 peccasse agnoscas quid sit, quid mortua fleri,
 quidue mori. Ac ne quid desit tibi forte malorum,
 quae castigandis corruptus parturit orbis,
 acrior inmenso miscebitur ira dolori.
 Nam cum prima tibi producent tempora natos,
 185 liuor aedax arto certabit limite mundi;
 nec iam sufficiet, uacuuus qua tenditur, orbis,
 totaque germanis stringetur terra duobus.
 Alter in alterius consurget funera frater,
 telluremque nouam cognato sanguine tinguet.
 190 Exim posteritas uarios passura labores
 casibus in multis mortalia debita pendet,
 dum ueterem ductus dissoluat terminus orbem,
 occidat omne uigens, finisque redarguat orta.’
 Audierat motumque dedit conterrita tellus.
 195 Sic Pater exactis haedorum pellibus ambos
 induit et sancta paradisi ab sede reiecit.
 Tum terris cecidere simul mundumque uacantem
 intrant et caeleri perlustrant omnia cursu.
 Germinibus quamquam uariis et gramine picta,
 200 et uirides campos fontesque ac flumina monstrans,
 illis foeda tamen species mundana putatur
 post, paradise, tuam; totum cernentibus horret,
 utque hominum mos est, plus quod cessauit amatur.
 Angustatur humus strictumque gementibus orbem /
 14va terrarum finis non cernitur, et tamen instat.
 Squalet et ipse dies; causantur sole sub ipso
 subductam lucem, caelo suspensa remoto
 astra gemunt, tactusque prius uix cernitur axis.
 Tunc inter curas permixti felle doloris

readily understood as a thing to be feared, may you recognize what it is to have sinned, why the dead are lamented, or what it is to die.’

185 *liuor aedax*: Ovid *Rem. Am.* 389, Lucan 1.288

195 *haedorum*: the specification of the animal skins as goatskins is not found in Genesis. Avitus’ addition of the detail evokes Mt. 25:33.

204 *strictumque ... orbem*: object of *gementibus*

- 210 adfectus sensere novos, et pectora pulsans
 nondum conpertas prorumpit fletus in undas,
 attentisque genis iniussus defluit umor.
 Haut aliter uiuax deceptus mole caduca
 spiritus, impleto uenit cum terminus aeuo,
 215 post obitum peccata dolet: tum quicquid iniquum
 gesserit in mentem reuocat, tum penitet omnis
 errorum lapsus, semet quos iudice dampnat;
 et si praeterite reddatur copia uitae,
 sponte ferat quoscumque dabunt mandata labores.
- 220 Sanctus namque refert de quodam diuite Lucas,
 quem nimio luxu dissoluens uita fouebat.
 Ipse coturnatus gemis et fulgidus auro
 serica bis coctis mutabat tegmina blattis.
 Inde ut bacchantem suasissent tempora mensam,
 225 currebant aepulae, totus quas porrigit orbis.
 Cumque peregrinus frugem misisset aceruus,
 fervebat priscum cristallo argente Falernum.
 Uiuida quin etiam miscebant cinnama turi,
 et suffita domus pingui flagrabat amomo.
- 230 Quod pelagus, quod terra creat, quod flumina gignunt,
 certatim mensis cedentibus undique lassus
 portabat pallens auri cum fasce minister.
 Languidus ante fores pauper tunc forte iacebat
 diuitis, obstrictis resoluta corpore membris,
 235 et supplex poscebat opem; non munera captans,
 reliquias tantum sed si quas copia iecit,
 has tunc operiens alius ieiuna rogabat. /
- 140b Sed proclamanti diuis non addidit aurem,
 nullaque languentem pietas respexit egenum,
 240 nec quae completis cecidere superflua mensis
 pauperis ad uictum quisquam dedit. Insuper egri

220 *refert ... Lucas: Lc. 16:19–31*

222 *gemis = gemmis*

223 *mutabat: here, 'dyed'*

227 *Falernum: fine wine from Campania*

237 *operiens = opperiens*

238 *diuis = diues, nominative singular; cf. III.268*

dispicitur facies et putria uulneris horrent;
 cumque canes miti perlambant ulcera lingua,
 blandior et fesso feritas medicabilis adsit,
 245 sola hominum nescit mens semper dura moueri.
 Haec sed diuersa penitus dum sorte geruntur,
 inpendens obitus pariter pulsauit utrumque,
 diuite praeuento, numquam qui credidit istud.
 Optatam pauper longo uix tempore mortem
 250 peruenit, et uictor morbos artusque relinquit.
 Ille quidem, celsa qui dudum floruit arce,
 fletibus ad tumulum stipato funere fertur,
 auratoque datur conditus membra sepulchro,
 et praetiosa tegunt elatum lintea marmor.
 255 Spiritus abstruso sed mox demissus Auerno
 incidit aeternas per saeua incendia poenas.
 E quarum medio sublimi sede locatum
 haut procul (hoc certe censetur, non procul inde,
 ut docet euentus) sinibus conspexit ouantem
 260 Abrahae iusti mutatum in paupere uultum;
 nec eius similem, quem dudum luce receptum
 quarto forte diae uix quisquam largus humandi,
 ne per dispersum naturae lege cadauer
 dira frequentatae contagia mitteret urbi,
 265 obtectum laceris tenui uelamine pannis
 naribus adstrictis nuda tellore locauit.
 Angelicis manibus tunc in sublime leuatus,
 iam diuis, iam sanus erat; contraque superbi,
 qui congesta tenens opibus diffluxerat amplis,

253 *membra*: accusative of specification

259–66 *sinibus ... locauit*: 'he saw the changed countenance of the poor man rejoicing in the bosom of just Abraham. This did not look like the man who, not long ago, had been brought out in the light on the fourth day [scil. after death], when someone, who was hardly generous at performing funeral rites, so that it would not send dread disease into the crowded city by means of the corpse decomposed according to Nature's law, plugged his own nostrils, gave the body a thin covering of torn rags, and placed it in the naked earth.'

- 270 arida sic flammis mendicant guttura guttas: /
 15ra 'O Pater, electas animas qui sede beata
 colligis et meritis dispensas praemia iustis,
 haec ego non mereor: sed saltem deprecor unum,
 Lazarus ut missus ueniat digitoque leuatum
 275 adferat huc labris ardentibus inde liquorem,
 quique refrigerio, si non extinxerit omnis,
 ad tempus saltem tantos uel mitiget aestus,
 donec fessa breui respirent membra quiete.'
 Taliter inmixto lacrimis stridore rogantem
 280 magnanimus tandem conpellat sic patriarcha:
 'Desine iam seras in cassum fundere uoces
 et uacuas miscere praeces. Haec talia dudum
 dicta dabas, foribus cum te prandente iacebat
 ipse ignotus, egens, aeger, ieiunus, inanis;
 285 cum tua non caperet congestos mensa paratus,
 pauperis adque tuas non iret clamor ad aures.
 Quapropter tandem librato examine ueri
 praeteritae uitae sortem deponis; uterque
 permutate uices: et te iam sufficit amplis
 290 exundasse bonis; laetetur fine malorum,
 qui doluit coeptis. Non est iam terminus ultra.
 Insuper horrendo currit qui tramite limis
 et chaos obiectum lato distinguit hiatu,
 non sinit abiunctas misceri foedere partes,
 295 accessumque negat. Sic uobis semper ut istis.'
 Ille gemens uanum repetita uoce praecatur:
 'Si nil post obitum prodest commissa fateri
 nec tua mutatur fixis sententia uerbis,

270 *flamis* = *flammis*

276 *omnis*: accusative plural

285 *cum ... paratus*: 'although your table did not (could not) hold the heaped up provisions'

287 *librato examine*: the metaphor is one of good and ill fortune set upon scales; *examen* here is the tongue of a balance, the part standing for the whole.

288 *praeteritae ... deponis*: here a reference to the change of fortune to be experienced in the next life

- hoc concede mihi, nulla quod lege uetatur.
 300 Fratres quinque domo discedens luce reliqui:
 his peto mittatur qui uiuos corrigat, ante
 in tormenta cadant quam talia carne soluti.
 Nam quamuis duro persistent corde rebelles, /
 15rb si tamen obstructa quisquam de morte rediret,
 305 credent experto poenasque intrare timebunt.’
 Ille quidem poscens effectum non capit ullum.
 Nos autem, dum uita manet, dum luce uigemus,
 olim defuncti perterret nuntius Adam,
 dum locus est flendi, dum non iniussa petuntur,
 310 nec obduratis pulsatur ianua serris.
 Nouimus en cuncti quod primus planxerit illae,
 qui pulsus prisca .nesciuit sede reuerti.
 Namque obitum quendam casu tum pertulit ipso,
 perdita ne praecibus lacrimisue reduceret ullis.
 315 Ex tunc paulatim retro sublapsa referri
 uita prior, coepitque malis laxata potestas.
 Tum tristes morbi et uarii subiere dolores,
 et corrupta satis dira punguidine tellus
 letali quaedam suffudit germina suco.
 320 Inde truces saeuire fere, dudumque timentes
 excitat ad pugnam tum primum conscia uirtus,
 reddit et armatas unguis, dens, ungula, cornu.
 Ipsa etiam leges ruperunt tunc elimenta,
 et uiolare fidem mortalibus omnia certant.
 325 Inflatur uentis pelagus uoluuntur et undae,

- 308 *nuntius*: here in sense of ‘example,’ ‘story’
Adam: genitive singular
 310 *serris* = *seris* (*sera*, -ae f.), ‘bolts’
 311 *illae* = *ille*: Adam
 314 *ne*: replaces *ut non* (Goelzer, 684)
 315–16 *Ex tunc ... prior*: ‘From that time their former life (of bliss in Paradise) went ebbing, slipping away’
 315 *retro sublapsa referri*: Virgil *Aen.* 2.169, *Geor.* 1.200
 318 *punguidine* = *pinguedine*
 320 *saeuire*: so-called historical infinitive, used for imperfect
fere = *ferae*

excitusque nouum turgiscit pontus in aestum.
 Tunc primum tectis taetra caligine caelis,
 ingratos hominum castigatura labores
 grandineos pauidis fuderunt nubila nimbos,
 330 adque polus discors inuidit germina terris.
 Quin magis ipsa sibi tellus aduersa negauit,
 seminis excepti uertens mentita nitorem.

Haec gemini primum senserunt tunc protoplasti.
 Posteritas nam quanta ferat dispendia rerum,
 335 non cui uel centum linguae uel ferrea uox est
 enumerare queat, nec si quem Mantua misit /
 15va Maeoniusue canant diuersa uoce poetae.
 Quis talis referat motus? Quis denique fando
 euoluat totos, qui uoluunt saecula, fluctus?
 340 Arma fremunt, crebra quatitur formidine mundus,
 funditur inriguus sanguis maiorque sititur.
 Quid dicam celsas praeclaris coetibus urbes
 in deserta dari? Populos populante rapina
 dispergi et lacerum uacuari partibus orbem?
 345 Seruitio subdi dominos, famulosque uicissim
 praeferrī dominis et belli sorte perire,
 sors generis claro quondam quos sanguine misit?
 At si forte breui requiescant tempore bella,
 legibus armatas furere in certamina lites,
 350 ius anceps pugnare foro, quo iurgia fratrum

331 *sibi*: to be taken closely with *aduersa* and referring to 'men,' the object of nature's hostile forces, which are discussed in III.317–33

335 *ferrea uox*: a commonplace; cf. Virgil *Geor.* 2.501, *Aen.* 6.626

336 *Mantua*: Virgil's birthplace

337 *Maeoniusue*: the Maeonian is Homer; tradition held King Maeon to be Homer's father.

338 *talis*: accusative plural

341 *maiorque sititur*: 'and more is thirsted for'

345–7 *Seruitio ... misit*: possibly a reference to the 5th–c. rebellion of slaves (*Bagaudae*) in Gaul; see Pauly–Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie* II s.v. *Bagaudae*

347 *sors ... misit*: 'those whom fate of birth once furnished with noble blood'

non leuius uotis feriunt, quam proelia telis?
 Sed quis uota notet, clament cum facta nocentum?
 Quis fraudes et furta gemat gaudente rapina?
 Quisue minora fleat? Stringi nec maxima possunt;
 355 inde minora tamen, si summis iuncta, notentur.
 Nam per se nullum facinus sub Iudice paruum est.
 Nec refert cunctas percurri carmine causas;
 hoc paruo sermone loquar: Post damna priorum
 nil superesse mali, quod non uel perpetret orbis
 360 uel toleret plenus scelerum pariterque laborum,
 in casu discrimen habens et crimen in actu.
 Sed tu Christe potens, cui semper parcere promptum est,
 tu figulus massam potis es reparare caducam,
 et confracta diu resolutaque fingere uasa.
 365 Qui dudum multo latitantem puluere dragmam
 inuenis accensis uerbi uirtute lucernis.
 Linquentem caulas torpique errore uagantem
 Pastor ouem celeri dignatus quaerere gressu
 subuehis, utque suo gaudens reddatur ouili, /
 15vb sarcina fit, quae cura fuit. Sic filius ille
 iunior, exhaustos postquam dispersit acervos
 uitaque consumto mutata est prodica censu,
 turpia porcorum digne conuiuia sectans,
 optauit siliquis conpleri uilibus aluum,
 375 donec saeua famis longo discrimine uictum
 cogeret offenso tandem se reddere patri
 confessumque reum laxato crimine solui.
 Denique prostratum mitis pater alleuat ultro
 et trepidum blanda solatur uoce pudorem.

- 365–6 *Qui... lucernis*: Lc. 15:8
 365 *dragmam* = *drachmam*
 367–70 *Linquentem... fuit*: Lc. 15:4
 370–83 *Sic... patri*: Lc. 15:11–32
 372 *prodica* = *prodiga*
 375 *famis* = *fames*

- 380 Ornatus reduci uestis dat prima secundos
 laetaque sollemnis caelebrat conuiuia coetus,
 quod rediuiua suis quodam de funere prolis
 surgat et orbato redeant noua lumina patri.
 Ad tu, praepollens hominum rerumque Creator,
 385 quamquam cuncta uelis fide constare saluti,
 nulla tamen pateris nostrae dispendia mortis,
 nec quoquam pereunte tuis contingere damnum
 diuitiis poterit: Nescis decrescere, nescis
 augeri et pleno perstat tibi gloria regno.
 390 Sed famulis tu redde tuis, quod perdidit Adam,
 quodque tulit primum uitatae stirpis origo,
 ortu restituat melior iam uita secundo.
 Sorduerit nimium lacero circumdata peplo
 forma uetus; scisam ponens cum crimine uestem
 395 pallia prima, Pater, redeunti porrige proli,
 seminecem quondam miserans qui forte repertum
 proiectumque uia, quem saeui cede latrones
 inpositis cuncto spoliarent tegmine plagis.
 Sed tu, Sanctae, uiam sumto dum corpore curris,
 400 inuenis adlissum nec praeteris, insuper aegrum
 iumento carnis propriae sub tecta reportas.
 Nos fuimus quondam rabido data praeda furori; /
 16ra sed si nunc medico percurrat uulnera fotu
 gratia producat oleum, sapientia uinum,
 405 commendet stabulo Samaritis dextera curam,
 pelletur ualidus medicato corpore languor.

- 380 Ornatus ... secundos: i.e. the best garment (*stolam primam* Vulg.) allows that honours (of a beloved son) be bestowed for a second time; cf. Lc. 15:22
- 385 fide constare saluti: 'to be in accord with faithful wholeness'; fide = fidae, dative
- 393 Sorduerit: concessive without cum, 'granted that ...'
- 395 Pater: the reference to the prodigal son continues. Christ is being referred to.
- 396ff. Reference here changes from the prodigal son to the man who fell among thieves (in the story of the Good Samaritan).
- 396 qui: vocative with porrige, 'thou who'
- 405 Samaritis: genitive singular; cf. Lc. 10:30-35

Suscipe, qui non uis moriendi crescere causas,
 quos confessa tibi gemitus pia pectora fundunt,
 ut quondam tecum passae sub tempore carnis
 410 proximus inmani dependens stipitae praedo,
 quem non culpa tibi similem, sed poena tenebat.
 Ille tamen nexus membris nec corde ligato,
 etsi confixas clauis extendere palmas
 non potuit, liber mentem cum uoce tetendit.
 415 Sicque reus scelerum, dum digna piacula pendit,
 martyrism de morte rapit. Cui fine sagaci
 maxima cura fuit tales non perdere poenas,
 praeripuit scandens aditum caeloque leuandus
 ardua sublimi tenuit conpendia saltu.
 420 Porrige sic nobis celsam, Pater inclyte, dextram.
 Nos quoque perpetuae conquirat uita saluti,
 adque profanati deceptis fraude latronis
 ceu tibi compasso miserans subcurre latroni.
 Liuida quos hostis paradiso depulit ira,
 fortior antequam reddat tua gratia sedi.
 ALCIMI AUITI EPISCOPI EXPLICIT DE
 SENTENTIA DEI LIBER TERTIUS

407 *qui non ... crescere causas*: cf. Ez. 18:23

409–16 *ut ... rapit*: Lc. 23:40, a reference to the good thief who died beside Christ on the cross

422 *deceptis*: scil. *nobis deceptis*, dative object of *subcurre*

423 *ceu ... latroni*: 'come to our aid just as (you came to the aid of) the thief who suffered with you'

Synopsis of Books IV and V

After the long typological discourse which ends Book III, Avitus announces at the beginning of Book IV, *De diluvio mundi*, his intention to resume the narrative with a treatment of a subsequent event in primordial human history, the great flood. He begins with two Virgilian similes to demonstrate the worsening human condition after the fall. First he compares the shameless race, which had put on savage dispositions, to a once cultivated field now abandoned by the farmer. Then, the wicked life of mankind, falling into evil and advancing on a worse way, is like a thin stream of water growing into a mighty river. Avitus introduces Noe not only by telling of his unique goodness but also by revealing him to be among the chosen as a descendant of Enoch. The angel Gabriel instructs Noe in the building of the ark, and Noe's faithful compliance elicits from the poet a typological reference. He points out that the means for salvation, for safety from the final all-consuming flood, is present in the Redemption, which is figured by the wood of the cross. Avitus also refers to the Ninevites, whose fear of Jonah's prophecy saved them from destruction because his warnings transformed them.

An account of the flood itself follows: Gabriel, who had earlier brought God's message to Noe, now returns to enclose Noe and his family in the ark. Immediately the sky grows dark and the torrential rain begins. Water not only comes from the sky but also bursts forth from the earth. Soon, men and animals try to avoid the watery assault. Some die trying to climb. Others die thrashing their limbs in a futile swim. And through all this the ark is battered and groans in the waves, and its seams labour. But the monstrous force does not penetrate the fortified ark. The figuralism of this episode is one of the best known and most widely used throughout the Middle Ages. The ark is the Church, the vessel of grace, established by Christ and built by men, to be battered from without by frequent storms and raging waves

of faithlessness and error.

The chief symbolism, however, lies in the flood itself as a figure of baptism, to which Avitus turns next. Like the flood, baptism is death to sin and this death is not man's doing but God's. While Genesis itself demonstrates divine selection and preservation in physical terms, Christians have viewed the story of the flood not only as a historical manifestation of God's care but also as a figure of this gift of spiritual salvation.

Avitus begins Book V, *De transitu maris rubri*, by speaking of another flood, but one which does not violate God's promise that another flood would not cover the earth. This time, says the poet, rather than the flood coming to men, a doomed nation will run to the flood of their own volition. Divine influence is shown immediately in Avitus' account of the Exodus. The poet not only stresses, for example, God's enlargement of the Hebrew nation which he adapts from Exodus 1:20, but he also openly presents God as championing the Hebrew cause and emphasizes God's continual thwarting of proud Pharaoh. As in Exodus, God instructs Moses and Aaron in the preparation for the Passover and on the nature of the final scourge, the death of Egypt's firstborn. On each of these points Avitus includes a didactic interlude before giving his account of the events at the Red Sea itself. First, God's instructions regarding the Passover give the opportunity to draw the well-known figural connection between the paschal lamb and Christ. Then, the movement of the angel of death through all of Egypt's houses, those of rich and poor alike, elicits from the poet a reflection on death itself. Here he reflects on the universal impartiality of death before anything but man's good deeds.

Avitus' selection, arrangement, and discussion of the events marking the Hebrews' actual departure from Pharaoh follow immediately in the poem. The Hebrews can depart with a nation that has grown unceasingly. At the head of the line of march Moses, 'lawgiving leader,' and his brother Aaron are clearly visible. Strong and disciplined troops fol-

low them, as the poet portrays their warlike and mighty ranks. But to the rear of the soldiers follows the vast majority of Hebrews who are not strong but timid. The pillar of fire and the cloud of Exodus 13:21–2 are further signs of divine guidance which Avitus describes next, adding details to the biblical narrative. He then continues his now well-established pattern of narrative and description followed by commentary, and epitomizes the divine care of the chosen people in a forward-looking, figural reference to two other scriptural passages. First, he speaks of the forty-year duration of the Hebrews' wandering in the desert after they crossed the Red Sea, during which time God's care and provision were constant. He refers to Deuteronomy 8:3–4 which speaks of God's keeping the Hebrews' garments from wearing out and of the manna they received from heaven. He then applies the teaching of I Corinthians 10:3–4 which speaks of the manna and the water supplied to the Hebrews from a rock as a figure of the Christian sacrament of the Eucharist.

Exodus tells that when the Hebrews saw the Egyptian army approaching, they lost faith and rebuked Moses for having taken them out of Egypt. In a forceful speech which focusses explicitly on God's activity in their rescue, expanded by Avitus from Exodus 14:13–14, Moses and Aaron undertake to remind them of all they have been promised, and after the Hebrews are restored in their faith, Avitus describes their crossing of the Red Sea and final liberation. The poet takes one last look at the vanquished being washed ashore and then turns to the victors, historical and typological. He refers to the canticle of Moses 'which is sung in all the world when sin, purged by the rite of water, is abolished, and the stream of the fertile bath brings forth new offspring after the sinners of old whom Eve produced, about which our poor page spoke in the previous books when it told of woeful falls.'

TEXTUAL NOTES

In the following notes, *L* signifies Laon, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 273, *D* Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit MS. Voss. Lat. Q 86. *Sch* indicates Schippers, the 20th-century editor of Book I, *Pr* and *Ch* Peiper and Chevalier, the two 19th-century editors of the complete poem. *Sirmond* (*PL*) signals a reading of the 17th-century editor whose text is reprinted in PL 59. *Ed.* signifies the present editor. *Mar* indicates a marginal note in *L*. *D* is not annotated.

Prologue

- 6 *procedo D: procido L*
- 8 *nomini D: nomine L*
- 11 *ordine D: ordinem L*
- 14 *inueniri D: inuenire L*
- 24 *poemati quead ed.: poématique ad L: poemati quaeat D*
- 25 *licentia D: licentiam L*
- 39 *tutius ed., Sirmond (PL): totius L, D, Pr, Ch*
- 41 *excusat a Ch: excusata L, D: excusata est Pr*
- 45 *anteposita D: antepotita L*

Book I

- 1 *agit D: aget L*
- 6 *peccatur ed.: peccator L, D*
- 14 *librantis D: librantes L*
- 26 *acceperere ed.: accipere D: acceperi L*
- 29 *paruo sub tempore D: paruos optempore L*
- 42 *Mar Nota quod falso creditur fedum, natura iudice pulchrum est.*
- 53 *impletum perfectis D: impleta imperfectis L*
- 55 *contristent D: contristant L*
- 61 *legem D: lege L*
- 66 *furore D: furorem L*
- 67 *iussi D: iussit L*

- 69 *Mar* Nota quod ipsa sui positione natura hominis
sublimior extet.
- 78 manu seu corpora *D*: manus eucorpora *L*
- 79 segni *Sch*: signi *L, D*
- 81 meditatur *D*: meditator *L*. *But cf.* modolatus *I.89*
and femor *I.94*.
- 88 pulsantis *D*: pulsantes *L*
- 92 molli *D*: mollo *L*
- 97 occipiti *D*: occipti *L*
- 100 cratem *D*: ratem *L*
- 102 parant *D*: parent *L*
- 104 tenui *D*: enim *L*
- 110 lienis laeuam *Pr, Ch*: lienis et in laeuam *L*: benis
laeuam *D*
- 111 sectos *D*: sectas *L*
- 119 toto tum *Pr, Ch*: totum *D*: totum cui *L*
- 122 fumant *D*: sumant *L*
- 125 profundit *D*: profundat *L*
- 129 puro *D*: pura *L*
- 130 plantis *D*: plantes *L*
- 137 parere *D*: paraere *L*
- 146 spirantia *D*: spirantiam *L*
- 152 si *D*: sic *L*
- 155 reponit *D*: reponet *L*
- 159 *Mar* Nota quid significet sopor Adae in quo de
costa illius fabricata est Eua.
- 166 qua *D*: quam *L*
- 176 accipies *L*: aspicias *D*
- 177 per *D*: pro *L*
- 177 *Mar* Nota pronepos.
- 179 annosos ... natos *D*: annosus natus *L*
- 181 ordine *D*: ordini *L*
- 182 uiscere *D*: uiscera *L*
- 184 patre *D*: patrem *L*
- 189 *Mar* Nota festiuum ymen.
- 195 uicinos *D*: uicinus *L*
- 197 aethere *D*: aethera *L*
- 201 uisuque *D*: usuque *L*

- 211 incipit *D*: incidit *L*
 226 germina rore *D*: germinatore *L*
 230 diffundunt *D*: diffudunt *L*
 232 *Mar* Nota menstrua tempora dant fructum in
 paradiso.
 241 *Mar* Nota quae sit auis natura phenicis cum
 senuerit.
 244 incensam *D*: incessam *L*
 250 sparsus *D*: sparsis *corrected from* sparsus *L*
 267 nigros *L*: nigris *D*
 268 uacante *D*: uagante *L*
 275 uiridantis *D*: uiridantes *L*
 280 fit *D*: sit *L*
 281 *Mar* Nota obex.
 285 *Mar* Nota de flumine Nilo.
 287 cincta *L*: cuncta *D*
 295 *Mar* Nota enodes papyri.
 315 quem *D*: quod *L*

Book II

- 3 loci *D*: locis *L*
 4 cibos *D*: cibus *L*
 14 hi *Pr, Ch*: hii *L, D*
 15 fouendo *D*: fauendo *L*
 16 indigus *D*: indiguus *L*
 22 *Mar* Nota non natura hominis uicio est sed causa.
 24 ut *D*: et *L*
 26 angelice qualis *D*: angelica aequalis *L*
 35 *Mar* Nota protoplastorum.
 48 *Mar* Nota quis primas luat poenas uenturo sub
 iudice.
 56 *Mar* Nota quae sit prauitas apostate angeli.
 64 pulchro *D*: pulchrae *L*
 70 quo *D*: quod *L*
 76 subuersor *D*: subuersos *L*
 84 innexam *D*: nexam *L*
 86 periisse *ed.*: perisse *L, D*
 93 uili *D*: uigi *L*

- 93 leuata *D*: leuatas *L*
 95 retentat *D*: retenta *L*
 104 pariat *D*: pareat *L*
 111 comis *L, D*
 118 *Mar* Nota de antiquo serpente.
 120 transgressor *D*: trangressor *L*
 145 *Mar* Nota uerba serpentis ad Euam.
 157 non *ed.*: nec *L, D*
 158 dulci *D*: dulcis *L*
 166 *Mar* Nota seductilis Eua.
 170 ut rere *D*: utere *L*
 177 diuis *L, D*
 189 aut *D*: ut *L*
 201 facient *D*: faciunt *L*
 216 ludit *D*: lud& *L*
 240 orsa *D*: ossa *L*
 247 libens *D*: liquens *L*
 253 intereunt *L*: intereunte *D*
 254 malesuade *L*: malesuadentia *corrected from*
 malesuadi *D*
 257 gustu *D*: gusto *L*
 299 illis *Pr, Ch*: illos *L*: illi *D*
 rectas *L*: recta *D*
 300 monstra *with n added superscript D*: monstram *L*
 303 *Mar* Nota unde sit quod marsi possunt cum
 producunt dracones tacita arte.
 311 *Mar* Nota morsus non uirus temetur in angue.
 315 sic *D*: si *L*
 328 uicerit *D*: uincerit *L*
 331 *Mar* Nota incestus pro lege fuit.
 336 pudendum *D*: putendum *L*
 336 *Mar* Nota abstenuisse nefas et pudendum non
 pecasse.
 340 tecto *supplied from D*
 348 *Mar* Nota fletus non extinxit feruentia crimina.
 349 ipsa in *D*: ipsam *L*
 353 desere *D*: dissere *L*
 358 *Mar* Nota tendatur tramite recto.

- 362 abesto *D*: abestu *L*
 363 terra *D*: terram *L*
 368 fulmina *D*: flumina *L*
 373 subuerterat *D*: subuerterit *L*
 385 uicina *D*: uicinam *L*
 386 flexa retortum *D*: flexare tortum (?) *L*
 395 nosse *D*: nosse *L*
 utrum *ed.*: uitrum *L, D*
 399 *Mar* Nota quod exemplum uxor Loth possit dare
 cernentibus mutata in statuam salis.
 404 hunc *D*: hinc *L*
 405 primeua *D*: primae (*ua erased*) *L*
 411 *Mar* Nota qualiter insultauerit diabolus
 protoplastis post seductionem eorum.
 417 uosmet *D*: uosme *L*

Book III

- 3 uicina *D*: uicinam *L*
 14 umentem *D*: tumentem *L*
 17 pomo *D*: poma *corrected from* pomo *L*
 20 *Mar* Nota quando crimina ligni per lignum sanata
 fuerant.
 28 rorantes *D*: rogantes *L*
 32 *The symbol + appears in the margin here and on*
 fol. 13.
 33 *Fol. 13 is a half-folio containing ll. 33–98.*
 45 aduentum *ed.*: aduentu *L, D*
 62 uomet *D*: mouet *L*
 64 *sic supplied from D*
 65 ambustura *D*: anbasturas *L*
 67 tutoque *D*: totoque *corrected from* tutoque *L*
 95 *Mar* Nota iam miser factus nondum miserabilis est.
 99 sociam *D*: sotia *L*
 prima *D*: primam *L*
 105 atque *D*: id quod *L*
 113 genas *D*: gena *L*
 rubore *D*: ruborem *L*
 126 propter suasam ... escam *Ch*: propter suasa ... esca

- L: pro persuasa ... esca D, Pr*
 130 animantia *D: animanda L*
 140 patiere: re *added superscript*
Mar Nota dominum timebis quam [sic] socium
dederam.
 156 mereare leuis *Pr, Ch: merear eleuis L, D*
 160 *Mar Nota exemplo hominis, homini semper terra*
rebellat.
 164 pinguia *D: pingua L*
 165 fructu *D: fructum L*
 171 sucos *D: sucus L*
 178 conspicias *D: conspicias L*
 184 natos *Pr, Ch: natus L, D*
 185 certabit *D: certauit L*
 186 qua tenditur *D: quae tendit L*
 188 consurget *D: consurgit L*
 196 induit *D: induet L*
 201 foeda tamen *Pr, Ch: feda D: foedata mens L*
 215 *Mar Nota qualiter quisque peccata doleat post*
obitum.
 220 *Mar Nota de Lazaro et diuite.*
 226 aceruus *D: aceruis L*
 245 *Mar Nota nescit sola mens hominum moueri*
semper dura.
 258 non *ed.: Nam (am added superscript by second*
hand) L: nam D
 263 ne *D: nec L*
 285 paratvs *corrected from paratos L*
 287 ueri *D: uiri L*
 297 nil *D: nihil L*
 298 fixis *D: fixi L*
 305 *Mar Nota credent experto.*
 323 *Mar Nota elimenta.*
 330 polus (*populus with pu marked for expunction*) *D:*
populus L
 339 totos *corrected from totus L: totos with second to*
marked for expunction D
 342 coetibus *Pr, Ch: caetibus L, D*

- 347 quos *ed.*: quod *L, D*
- 353 *Mar* Nota gaudente rapina quis fraudes et furta
gemat.
- 356 *Mar* Nota nullum fascinus [*sic*] sub iudice paruum
est.
- 366 *Mar* Nota inuenis.
- 371 *Mar* Nota de frugi et prodigo filiis.
- 376 cogeret *D*: coger *L*
- 380 secundos *D*: saecundus *L*
- 396 *Mar* Nota de seminece in uia reperto.
- 402 quondam *D*: quandam *L*
- 404 *Mar* Nota quid per oleum uel uinum significetur
egroto infundendum.
- 405 commendet *ed.*: comendet *with n added superscript*
D: commendat *L*

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